

Here begynneth the famous cronycle of the warres/  
which the romayns had agayn Jugurth  
vsurper of the kyngdome of Numi-  
dy: whiche cronycle is compy-  
led in latyn by the  
renowned romayn Salust. And translated into en-  
glyssh by syr Alexander Barclay prest/ate  
commaundement of the right hys  
and mighty prince: Tho-  
mas duke of  
North-  
folke.



## The table.

Here followeth the table of  
this present historie.

**H**irst the preface of Alexander Barclay preest vnto the ryght hys and myghty princce Thomas duke of Northtolke.

**C**onpendyous extract declaryng brefely the effect and proces of this present historie. fo. primo.

**C**he prologue of Salust: first copyster of this historie. fo. iii.

**C**of what mater Salust intendeth to treat in proces of this booke / & what causes moued hym of liche matter to write. The first chappyter. fo. v.

**C**howe the kyngesse Massinissa came into fauour of the romayns: and how the kyngdome of Numidie was gyuen vnto hym. The seconde cha. fo. vi.

**C**howe Publyus Scipio couelled Jugurth at his departyng: after the citie of Numance was destroyed.

The thyrd chappyter. fo. vii.

**C**he sentence of the letters sende fro

Scipio vnto the kyngesse Micipsa:

incōndacion and laude of Jugurth.

The fourth chappyter. fo. viii.

**C**howe the kyngesse Micipsa adopted Jugurth vnto his sonne. The syxt chappyter fo. viii.

**C**he exhortacion or monicion whiche the kyngesse Micipsa before his deth gave to Jugurth. The. vi. cha. fo. ix.

**C**howe the kyngesse Micipsa departed from lyfe: and of the first cause and disordre bytwene Jugurth and the sonnes of Micipsa. The. vii. cha. fo. x.

**C**howe Jugurth by treason slew his empsall the yonger sonne of Micipsa. The eyght chappyter. fo. xi.

**C**howe Jugurth ouercame Adherbal in batayle and put hym to flight: how Adherbal fled to Rome to coplayne to the senatours. and how Jugurth acloyed with rewardes many of the rulers of Rome: by whose meanes his crueltie was defended. The. ix. cha. fo. xii.

**C**he oration of Adherbal in forme deliberative: in which he exhorted the senatores to comaunde socours & ayde to be assigned to hym: puynge ysame to be profitable/honest / & easly yromayns to do: profitable: that he might continue ascende to the empire of Rome: honest: for his fader & grandfather had so deserued: easly to be done: for yromayns at that tym had none other warre els where. The. x. cha. fo. xii.

**C**howe the embassadours of Jugurth replied agaynst the wordes of Adherbal: & what dyrection was taken for bothe parties of the senatours of Rome. The. xi. cha. fo. xii.

**C**he description of the habitables partes of the countrey of Afrike: namely of such nacions as had ampte of warre with the romayns. The twelte chappyter. fo. xvi.

**C**howe Jugurth invaded the kyngdome of Adherbal yet ones agayne: and how Adherbal agayne was ouercome in batayle and put to flyght. The. xiii. cha. fo. xix.

**C**howe the fauourers of Jugurth at Rome laboured so in this cause: that thre yong men inexpert: and without polycie were sende embassadours into Afrike / to cease the strife betwene the two kynges: & howe these embassadores retourned to Rome without any thing done. The. xiii. cha. fo. xx.

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**C**Thesentence of the letters sent from Adherbal unto the senatours of Rome: what tyme he lay bysedged by Jugurth within the towne of Cyrrha. The.xv.cha.

fo.xxii.

**C**Howe the senatours sent newe embassadours to Jugurth / commaun-  
dyng hym to desynt from persecucion  
of Adherbal: and howe they preuay-  
led nothyng: howe the towne of Cir-  
tha was yeled to Jugurth: and howe  
he slewe Adherbal. The.xvi.chap-  
ter. fo.xxiii.

**C**Howe the senato's certyfied of the  
cruelty of Jugurth / prepared and ar-  
my agaynst hym: howe the bassado's  
of Jugurth wer' nat recepued into Ro-  
me: and how Calphurni<sup>9</sup> the romaine  
capten was acloyed by bribe of Ju-  
gurth. The.xvii.cha. fo.xxiii.

**C**Howe the rulers of Rome so: the  
moost part were greuously displeased  
for grauityng of the peace & disallowed  
the same: & how Memius islam'd the  
comen people against the fauourees of  
Jugurth. The.xviii.cha. fo.xxv.

**C**The orison of Memius had before  
the comen people of Rome: In whiche  
orison he induceth the to defende their  
libertie: and to represse and prosecute  
with hatered the noble men of Rome.  
The.xix.cha. fo.xxvi.

**C**Howe Memius induced the peple  
of Rome by the sayd orison / so that  
Cassius was sende so: Jugurthe to  
byng hym to Rome: to declare and  
accuse the supporters of his dedes.

The.xx.chappter. fo.xxvii.

**C**Of the behauour of the soudours  
and other whiche were left in Numi-  
dy: whyle Scaurus the consul was at

Rome. The.xxii.cha. fo.xxix.

**C**Howe Jugurth came to Rome w  
Cassius: and howe he behaued hym  
selfe there. The.xxii.cha. fo.xxix.

**C**Howe Jugurth increased his cruel-  
tie at Rome: and renued his murde  
in sleayne an other noble man of the  
stocke of Micipsa: by occasion wher-  
of he was constayned to depart from  
Rome / and the batel renued agayne of  
hole. The.xxiii.cha. fo.lxx.

**C**Howe Albynus consul of Rome re-  
nued the warre agaynst Jugurth: and  
at last retourned agayne to Rome le-  
uyng his brother Julius in Numidp  
with the army in his towne. The.  
.xxiii.cha. fo.lxx.

**C**Howe Julius and the romayne ar-  
my were dyscoyted of Jugurth / and  
howe peace was graunted to hym by  
Julius: & to what shame the romayns  
were put by ralle the folly of the same  
capitayne Julius. The.xxv.chap-  
pter. fo.lxxi.

**C**What sorowe and hewynes was at  
Rome: and howe they demeaned them  
selfe in the cytie / after that idynge  
herof were brought ther. The.xxvi.chap-  
pter. fo.lxxii.

**C**Wherof the dyscorde and takynge  
of parties bwtwene thenoble men and  
comens of Rome: had fift beginning  
The.xxvii.cha. fo.lxxv.

**C**Howe Metellus was creat consull  
and sende by the romayns to warre ag-  
aynst Jugurth: and of the wyse and  
dyscrete behauour of the same Metel-  
lus. The.xxviii.cha. fo.lxxvi.

**C**Of the behauour of Jugurth aga-  
ynt Metellus: and how he sende em-  
bassadours to Metellus requyryng

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unsaynedly to yelde by the kyngdome  
of Numidye to the empire of Rome: and  
howe Metellus behaued hymselfe agaynst  
the same embassadours. The.  
.xxxviii.chappter. fo.xxxviii.

¶ Howe Jugurth prepared and ad-  
dressed hymselfe agayne to warre: &  
what ordynance and polycie he vled  
agaynst the newe consull Metellus.  
The.xxv.chappter. fo.xxix.

¶ Of the firsle batayle foughten by  
twene Metellus and Jugurth. The.  
.xxxi.chappter. fo.xli.

¶ How Bomylchar vndercaptayne  
of Jugurth and his company were dys-  
sconfyt by Rutipus / vndercapten  
of Metellus. The.xxxvii.cha. fo.xli.

¶ What waste and dystruiction Me-  
tellus made in the lande of Numidye  
after this firsle batayle and flyght of  
Jugurth: and of the gyle of Jugurth  
agaynst Metellus. The.xxxviii.cha.  
chappter. fo.xlii.

¶ Of the great toy which was deme-  
aned at Rome for this worthy beha-  
uour of Metellus: and how he gyded  
hymselfe and his army / to contynue &  
augmet this honour whiche he had go-  
ten. The.xxxxiiii.cha. fo.xliii.

¶ Howe Metellus besyged Hamam  
one of the strongest townes of Numi-  
dy: and how Marius vndercapten of  
Metellus escaped the danger of Ju-  
gurth. The.xxxv.cha. fo.xlv.

¶ Howe Jugurth assayed and inua-  
ded the tentes of the romayns / in the  
meane tyme whyle Metellus gaue as-  
saute to the towne of Hamam. The.  
.xxxvi.chappter. fo.xlii.

¶ Howe Metellus behaued hymselfe  
for his part / and of the great conflyt

whiche the romayns had agaynst the  
Numidys. Metellus with his fore-  
men assaylynge h towne of Zammā for  
þ one part / & Jugurth fierstly fightyng  
with the romayns speremen for the o-  
ther part. the.xxxviii.cha. fo.xliii.

¶ Howe Metellus remoued the siege  
from Zammā: and howe Bomylchar  
so perswaded Jugurth that he yelde  
hymselfe: his kyngdome / and all o-  
ther thynges to mercy and grace of þ  
romayns: and howe Jugurth after  
losse of his men / tresour / eliphantes /  
armour / þorse: chaunged his mynde  
agayne. The.xxxviii.cha. fo.xliii.

¶ Howe Marius by ambystion labou-  
red to be consull / and to prosecute the  
warre of Numidye: and how he detrac-  
ted the consull Metellus. The.xxiir.  
chappter. fo.i.

¶ Howe Jugurth renued the warre  
agaynst Metellus: and howe the Nu-  
midians inhabytours of the towne  
of Vacca / by treason murdere the gar-  
nison of romayns / whiche Metellus  
had sette in the same towne. The.xi.  
chappter. fo.iiii.

¶ Howe Metellus distroyed the tow-  
ne of Vacca / and murdere all thynhas-  
bytauntes: and howe Turpilius lyew  
tenant or captayne of the towne was  
beherded at the commaundement of  
Metellus. The.xi.cha. fo.iiii.

¶ Howe Bomylchar conspyzed trea-  
son agaynst Jugurth: and by what  
meanes this treason was dyscouerd:  
and Bomylchar with certayne other  
were put to deathe for the same. The.  
.xi.chappter. fo.iiii.

¶ Howe Metellus renued the warre  
agaynst Jugurth: and how Marius

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was creat consul / and assigned to execute the wary of Numidie: at pleasure of the comens / agaynst the wyll of all the noble men of Rome. The. xiijt. chappter.

fo. iiii.

¶ Of the seconde batell foughten by twene Metellus and Jugurth: and howe Jugurth lost the batell / and also one of his chefe townes named Thala. The. xiijt. cha. fo. iiii.

¶ Howe Metellus fortified the cite of Leptis: & at request of the balsadours of the same cite / sent thider garyson to defende it agaynst Jugurth: and of the sytuacion of the same cyte / and behauour of the inhabitauntes therof. The. xiiijt. cha.

fo. iiii.

¶ The discetpcion of that place of Afrike which is named the Phylen auers: and for what cause the same place was first so named. The. xiijt. chappter.

fo. iiii.

¶ Howe Jugurth assembled a newe armes of the rude Getulians agaynst the romayns: and howe he associeted hym Bochus kyng of the maures / to stregh hym in batell agaynst Metellus. The. xiiijt. cha. fo. ix.

¶ Howe Metellus vsed hymselfe heyring that these two kynges were confederate agaynst hym: and how after that he was certifred that the prouynce of Numidie / was assigned to Marius the newe consull: he ceassed the warre for the nones. The. xiiijt. chappter.

fo. iiii.

¶ Of the great ordynaunce and preparation: whiche Marius the newe consull made agaynst Jugurth / and for the warre of Numidie. The. xiiijt. chappter.

fo. iiii.

¶ The orsson or exhortacion of Marius had to the commen people of Ro me before his voyage into Numidie: whiche orsson is demonstratiue: contaynyng the laude and prayse of Marius: and dyspraise and blarnes of the noble men of Rome. The. ii. chappter.

fo. iiii.

¶ Howe Marius after his exhortacion ended: anone laded shippes with ordynance of warre / and sent forward with the same one Manlius his emballadour: and how he hymselfe anon after folowed withall his company: and how he behaued hymselfe in Numidie / at first begynnyng. The. ii. chappter.

fo. iiii.

¶ Howe Metellus the olde consul returned to Rome: and of the worshy and valyant behauour of Marius agaynst Jugurth / and of his great actes at his begynnyng. The. ii. chappter.

fo. iiii.

¶ Howe Marius wanne the great & ricche cyre named Capsa: and howe he bitterly dysstroyed the same / and gaue al the richesse therof to hauche amog his sondyours. The. iii. chappter.

fo. iiii.

¶ Howe Marius by fortune more than by strength / wanne the strongest castel of al Numidie: wherin were the treasours of Jugurth. The. liii. chappter.

fo. iiii.

¶ Now in the meane tyme whyle this castell was in wynnyng / a noble man of Rome named Lucius Sylla: cam from Rome to Marius with a great bende of horsmen: and of the maners and behauour of this Sylla. The. li. chappter.

fo. iiii.

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**C**howe Marius preuyled in batell agaynst both the two kyngs Jugurth & Bocchus. The.lvi.cha. fo.lxxv.

**C**Of the great prouision & wydome of Marius after his victorie: and of the secōd batell whiche he had agaynst the two kynges: in whiche also he had great victorie / with great laude & honour. The.lvii.chap. fo.lxxvi.

**C**Howe Bocchus after that he was twyse ouercome in batayle / purposed to make peace with the romayns: and how at his request Marius sent unto hym Sylla and Manlius: to knowe his mynde in that behalfe. The.lviii.chappter. fo.lxxvii.

**C**Of the wordes of Sylla treourer of the romayne armē / had before king Bocchus. The.lxi.cha. fo.lxxix.

**C**Of the answeare of Bocchus made to Sylla: and of the unstableness of mynde of the same Bocchus. The.lx.chappter. fo.lxx.

**C**How Bocchus chaliged his mynd yet ones agayne / and sende neve embassadours to Marius to treat of the peace: and howe Sylla receyued and treated them in absence of Marius. The.lxi.chappter. fo.lxx.

**C**Howe Marius herde them bastes doutes of Bocchus & sent them to Rome: and howe they were answered of the senato's. The.lxii.cha. fo.lxxxii.

**C**How Marius sent Sylla agayne to Bocchus at his desyre: and what daunger the same Sylla escaped by helpe of Molur / sonne of kynge Bocchus. The.lxiii.cha. fo.lxxxii.

**C**Of the metyng and secrete apoyntmetes btytwene Bocchus and Sylla: and howe btytwene them both / they abused Asper: the embassadour of Jugurth. The.lxiii.cha. fo.lxxxii.

**C**Of the seconde comyng togidre of Bocchus and of Sylla: & of the wordes of Bocchus had to Sylla: and replication & answeare of Sylla agayne to hym. And how Bocchus graunted & cocluded to betrap Jugurth to the romayns. The.lxv.cha. fo.lxxxiii.

**C**Howe Bocchus betrayed Jugurth and deliuered hym bounde unto Sylla. The.lxvi.cha. fo.lxxxiii.

**C**Howe Marius was receyued into Rome with triumphhe: and howe Jugurth was cast in prison: where he contynued in mysterable captiuite till he dyed. The.lxvii.cha. fo.lxxxv.

F I N I S .

The preface of Alexander Barclay preest vnto the  
right hye and mighty prince: Thomas  
duke of Northfolke.



**I**ight myghty hye / & magnificente prince: myne humble seruice / due vnto your grace. And the behes-  
mett affection whiche I ha-  
ue vnto your honour / & per-  
petual fame / impelleth me  
often tymes to deuyse / and revolue in mynde:  
what seruice or pleasur my simplenesse might  
do / conuenient and acceptable vnto your hygh-  
nesse: therby to testifly the honour / the loue / &  
obsequy: whiche I knowlege my selfe to owe  
vnto your magnificece. But whan I consider  
and compare

R E V E R E N D I S S I-  
mo in Christo patri ac dño: dño  
Ioanni Veysy Exonieñ episcopo  
Alexander Barclay presbyter de-  
bita cum obseruantia. S.

**M**EMINI me superi-  
oribus annis: cu ad-  
huc facelli regis pre-  
sul esse: pastor vigil-  
issime: tuis suasionibus incitatū:  
ut Crispī Salustij hystoriā (qua Ju-  
guthynum bellū vocant) e roma-  
na lin-

ua lingua in anglicam compendio  
se veit rem quam rem ( tametū at  
dua videbatur ) tñ quantū p exi le  
ingēniū alias p ( quā me premunt )  
curas huc certū erat capessere  
In digni enim duxi .viti bonarū li  
terarū & studiorū tautentissimi , moni  
tis literario in negotio nō obtē  
tate . Sane quum adiceris / tibi /  
vniuersitq; anglici nois procerib;  
rem gratiuimā fore : qui plerūq;  
huiuscmodi labores spōte subeo;  
a tanto patre admonitus : non pos  
tui prouinciam recusare . Huc acce  
dūt illustriū p̄cipis Thome bo  
rialis gentis ducis hortamēta ; qui  
& ipse paulo posteāq; tua dñatio ad  
hāc operā me p̄suaserit non mino  
ri impulso eandē ad rē adegit : atq;  
eocūstantē aim rededit : vt postis  
dic p̄suicidā aggredetur . Cui quo  
q; magnificēre ( vt duci terū mili  
tarium pitillimo / hystoria bellicis  
de rebus cōscriptis ; cōueniret ) libel  
lū nō i merito nūcupauit . Atq; vt du  
ci strēnuillimo / p̄tēticiq; doctissi  
mo morē gerere : tentauī insegnem  
illā hystorā / bellāq; quod cum lus  
gurtha tyrāno / regē Numinidaz inua  
fore : pop. romanus . varijs sub con  
sulibus variag vctoria vctoria ges  
sit / ex latiō sermone : in anglicū ( tu  
is sub auspicijs ) verttere . Ut ( te au  
thore ) habeant tandem anglī pro  
ceres : quod ad terū magna imita  
tionē dīgne legant . Adhoc ipsius  
Crispi Salustii verba huic nfe trā  
lationi ydoneū visū est in margine  
annotare : tū vt due linguae vna in  
pagina / per colūnas ; in eo more dis  
sticte / alterā alterā magis illustret .  
Tum vero : vt tetrici sensores isti  
qui soli sibi sapere videntur : qui q;  
seriosū quicq; aut graue / vulgarē i  
sermonē redigi egre serūt ac pene  
dedignantur : habeant etiā quod la  
tine legāt : obscurius tamenac hys  
toriā legant : vix illis iorsan / satis  
intellectāti vel cōmentariorū aut  
sterptis alicui elucidamēta iter  
-ueniēt . Atqui hūc n̄m labore / vi  
cis literatis : ac latinæ liguae erudi  
tis tes

and compare my sympleness and impotence  
with your p̄eminent dignite : I synde myselfe  
greely insufficiēt to parforme or attempt any  
belyselle or warke whiche I may condynglie  
p̄sent vnto your honorable presēce . Acuer  
theles after mar. p̄sideraciōs : the gracious  
regard of benyng grauite whiche I beholde  
in your countenance : and the euident signes of  
humilitē whiche outwardly apere ih radicate  
in your noble hert : reconforzeth myne insuffi  
ciēce & inboldeth my sp̄ites / some thyng to  
writte my custome whiche I may p̄sent into  
your gracious handes : as a perpetual memo  
rial : an and euident testimony of my deuout  
seruice & amorous affection against your ma  
gnificent hyghnes . In this consyderacion I  
haue reuolved many & diuerte volumes / stu  
dyng of whch one : the trāslacion : might co  
respond with your noble estat . But at last I  
haue remedied that a mercyal matter is most  
cōgruent vnto a martial & victorious prince .  
Wherfore I haue attempted to translate into  
our maternall langage the auncient cronicle &  
famous hystorie of the warre : and dyuers ba  
taris whiche the romayns dyd agaynst the ty  
ran Jugurth : usurper of the kyngdome of  
Numidy . Whiche hystorie is witten in latyn  
by the conowmed romayne Salust : whose  
wordes in latyn I haue also added vnto the  
marge of this my trāslacion to thintent that  
such as shal dydayne to rede my translation  
in englyshe : may rede this hystorie more cō  
pendyously & more obscurely witten in laten .  
Whiche hystorie : parauenture shal apere more  
clere & playne vnto theym in many places by  
help of this my trāslation . Whiche shal nat be  
tedyous to such as be lerned & vnderstande la  
tyn : but vnto many noble gentylmen whiche  
vnderstande nat latyn tong p̄fetly I dout nat  
but that this my labour shalbe both pleasure  
& profit . For by the same they shal haue some  
help toward the vnderstanding of latyn : whis  
che at this tyme is almost contēned of gentyl  
men . And also they shal vnderstande a ryght  
cōfuptful hystorie : bothe pleasant / profitablie / &  
ryght

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ypght necessary unto every degre: but special-  
ly to gentylmen / whiche coueyt to attayne to  
clere fame and honour: by gloriouse dedes of  
chualter. But I dout nat: but that some ca-  
lunnyous detracours shal maligne agaynst  
this my besynes and pfitable labour / sayeng  
that to a preest and man pffessed to obseruac-  
e of religion: it is farrre contrary / & dysagreynge  
to intermyt hymselfe with warfare: or to in-  
termyt with thyngs of batayle: outher by de-  
des / counsel / or wrytyng. But to stoppe the  
mouthes of such calumniatoris: moost souer-  
ayne prince: me semeth ryght & conuenient in  
this place: somwhat to write as wel concernyng  
the comodities & laudes of hystories: as aper-  
tenent unto myne owne excusacion. And first  
I knowlege it moch more conuenient: a preest to  
arme hymselfe with constance / holy scripture /  
putenelle of lyfe / & readyng vertues: and with  
suche socours & armour defended: boldely / &  
valiantly / to byd batayle agaynst byces: to put  
sue the obstatte synnes of this wold. And  
to contende also agaynst the temptaciois of his  
carnal concupiscencies / agaynst these mundayne  
blandimetes & delectacions: and agaynst his  
gostlye enemites suggestyngs. For vnder this  
maner (as affermeth the holy man Job) man  
nes lyfe vpon erth is but a warfare / & a very  
mase of miseries: an intricate circuite of vari-  
able / and inceutable erroures. For certayne I  
denp nat: but that such ought to be the warfa-  
re of a man within holy orders: auowed & sub-  
myt unto þ holy mynsteries & auters of god.  
But this other temporall warre is permytted  
unto wordely iuyers: and may nat be ompt-  
ted: namely in this woldie oppressed with ty-  
rany of inturpous and odious execto's and  
oppresours: whose obstatte presumpcionis /  
assauates / & invasions can nat otherwyse be re-  
pressed: than by violence / armour / & batayle:  
vnder ministracion of good and ryghtwysle  
princes defenders & mayntayners of the com-  
men wele. Than it is lawful: a preest to write  
suche actes for example of our posterite: for  
perpetual remembraunce of the laudes of good  
princes /

tis tedium futuris facile credidisse  
est: verum plerisque proceribus est ro-  
mana lingua: vix bene intellecta: et  
non dubium est et delectamēto futu-  
rū ac cōmodo Nēpe eodem ad lingua  
latīnae intellectū aliquantulū  
adiumenti acquirenti acquirentur:  
hystoria etiā perutilē intelligēt: nul-  
li mortaliū generi non necessariā  
potissimumq; nobilibus adolescentiis  
tulit, qui rei militaris exercitijs  
clarissimis ad famā gloriāq; nituntur.  
Verum enī vero non dubito su-  
turos qui huic labori meo: quantū  
uis utile calūnientur: quiq; ior san-  
obiārabunt, homini sacerdotiis  
creq; religionis obseruantijis inicio-  
ato: longe alienū atq; absurdū fesse  
militariis rebus impūcāre: aut bel-  
licis fesse imiscere tumultibus: con-  
filio factis: scriptisue. Ceterū hoc ī  
lēcō: haud absurdū videtur presul  
eximie aliquid inserere: quod tam  
hystoria cōmoditates paucis aperi-  
at qd̄ calumniatiū huiuscemodi  
liuore cōpescat. Ac primū quidē fa-  
teor: magis sacerdotē decere: i na-  
gīsc par esse: cōstancia: sacratū li-  
teratū peritia: vite sanctimonia: ac  
puritate: ceteriq; virtutibus fesse  
armare: atq; hijs p̄sidijs quasi ful-  
gentibus armjs munitū: fortis fidē-  
tiq; aio vicijs bellū indicere: obsti-  
natosq; scelerū sectatores p̄sequi.  
Ad hęc ingēti pectorē totisq; ai vis-  
ribus: carnalibus concupiscentijs:  
mūdi blādimentis: et atq; hostis  
suggestionibus reductari. Nempe  
hoc modo: lobatēte! Militia est  
vita hois sup terrā: ac vere miseria  
rum labarinthus: inextricabilūq;  
errorum domus abīguas: neque infi-  
cior fane: viri sacris iniciati ac dis-  
quinis ministeriis addicti militiam  
talē esse debere. Verum altera illa  
militia seculi amatoribus permis-  
titur: s. vim vi repellat. Neque  
ab ea abstineri posse arbitror: pre-  
sertim in orbe tot tyrannicis inua-  
sionib; obruto: tot odiofisi exaccio-  
nib; spoliato: tot raptorū gregib;  
lanato. Quorum atrox pertina-  
cia: insultusq; ferociissima: non alii

## The preface of

ter reprimi possint: q̄ violēti armōrū tumultū id y auspicis bonorum principū reipublice iautorū. Negi minus d̄cere arbitror huiuscemodi res gestas/presbyterū literis mā dare: in posteritatis exemplū inq̄ perpetuam bonorum principū memoriā glorioſā: qui ad tyrannorū aliorūq̄ seceleratōrū hoīm flagitia coercenda: ſūmi dei optimi: mazimi flagella ieris fuere: q̄ duces illos magnanimos huiuscemodi bella ſtrēne geſſiſſe.

Cæterum quæ ad hystoriae commoſitates attinent: q̄ breuillime pote ro abſoluam. Nēpe ex eiusdem leſtione( vt Beroaldus q̄ diſertissime pſequit) oim æratū oim gētiū: oim populorū res gestas quali pſeſe teſt intueri poſſimus: quod quanti ſit: Cicero declarat dicens. Nihil earū rerum ſcire: quæ anteq̄ naſcereris ſacte ſunt: hoc eſt ſemp̄ eſte puerū. Cum p̄ ſenibus maior ſit experien- tia: fidesq̄ maior propter vniuſ ſe- culi rerum cognitionem: quāto ma- tor eſte debet hystorias leſtantib: ex quibus tot ſeculorum res geſte reperitur. Eſt enim hystoria: reſis- tēporum: lux veritatis: vite magi- ſtra: vetuſtatis nuntia: quæ et orato- ri perq̄ eſt neceſſaria. Nam alete poſteſt ( vt Quintilianus ait) oratio nem: molli quodā ac iucundo ſuc- co: nec ferme cōcionem reperias in qua non alicuius rei geſte citetur exemplum. Eſt præterea ( vt idem Beroaldus inquit) operi preciū in hystoricos voluminibus omnis ex- empti documenta velut in illuſtri monumēto poſta intueri. Atq; ( vt Diodorus inquit) pulchrū eſt ex aliorū erratis vitā noſtrā in meli- us iuſtituere et quid expetendum: quid ſectandū: quidue ſugiendum ſit ex aliorū exemplis poſſe cognos- cere. nō ab reuigē Demetrius Pto- lomeum regē admonebat: vt libros ac pſertim hystoricos leſtaret qn̄ quidem: quæ amici non auident pri- cipibus demōſtrare: ea omnia in li-bris icripta: oculis obiſciunt. Hac  
Beroaldus

princes/ which haue ben here in eth the ſcour- ges of god to coorrect tyzannes & synners. But great is the laude & many be the comodities & utilties of hystories. In hystore is the recor- der of tymes paſſed: the lyght of hecrite: the maſtres of mannes lyueng: the p̄ſeydenc of memoře: the messenger of antiquite. And (as Titus Lutus recordeth in his prologue) the knowledge of hystories among other thinges is moſt holsome/necessary/and pſitible. For euery good example whiche in them is wriuen: is ſet fo; a warnyng & monyction unto p̄inces and gouernours therby to rule & order them- ſelue: & a comen wele. And every erāple of miſerable fortune of tyzannes/is ſet as a moni- on for the ſame gouernours nat to be of tyzan- nous behauour: leſt at laſt they may fal ito ly- ke miſerable tyme & calamite. And also (as ſayth Cicero) a man to knowe nothing of that which was done before his tyme & remebran- ce: that is as who ſayth alway to be a chylde. But it is a thyng very comely: & neceſſary be- fore other: to knowe theſe cronycles & noble actes of auncient tyme & remebrance to kepe in mynde the order & courſes of antiquite: and to haue in mynd the knowledge of exemplis for euery mater & purpose. For in likewysle as bñ- to aged men is moze credence & auctorite gy-uen: than to yong men: bycause of experieſce of many thyngs. So ſuch noble & diligēt mynd: as deleyteth in redyng hystories: may haue knowlege nat onely of the dedes of one man- nes lyfe: but alſo of the dedes moſt famouſ of al tymes: ſyth creation of the world. Wherfor (as ſayth Diodorus) it is a comely & fayre thyng / moche neceſſary & comendable: a man to refoume & amende his lyfe/bp example of an other mannes fault: & dāmages. Wherfore Demetrius Phalerus the great philosopher: often warneſt & counſelleſt the kyng Ptolomy to exerciſe hymſelfe in often redyng of bokes of hystories. For in ſo doyng: p̄inces ſhall ſynde wriuen in bokes before their eyen ryght many thyngs ſocertyng their wele/honour / & fame: whiche their frenſt dare nat be holde to tell them

## Alexander Barclay.

tell them for drede of dyspleasure: fothermore without the knowlge of hystories never man coude become good oratour. For (as affe meth Quintilian) hystories be of such myght and effect that they may noylle the speche of an oratour withlost and swete lycour. These premisses with otherlyke consydered: moost magnificent prince: me thinketh it thing nay inconuenient a preest to write of hystories of warre: and also methynke both plesant & profitable to noble men to exercysel hemselfe in redyng the same. For brefely to speke by ryght wylle batel: the lawes of god & man be mensayned: vice & vicious men corrected: vertue & good men rewarded and exalted. Dure sayth agaynst knyghtes defended: rebellers & tyrannes subdued: and finally all thynghs dyceted & to due order reduced. Fothermore the same redyng of hystories semeth to anayle nat a lytel to the knowledge & contemt of his crancys, sytorie pleasure mandayne & mystry of this vncertayne lyfe. For whan hystories represēt before our syght the valiant and bolde herted knyghtes shynning in armoue & richely apaſſelled: on comely coursers barded & trapped with golde & syluer: the goodly oder & ordynance of a great army of armed men shynning in harness: fyvers & prepared redy to batayle: the trumpettes sounding: the golden stremers and standarde blasynge & glisteryng agaynst the sonne: and brefely all the grounde ouercovered with men & riches. What els is all this: but a vapne ostentation of pertly opulence: and caduke glorie prepared besyly / assembled laſtly / and exposed folyschly & furiously unto destruction & perdition. But agayn anon after: whan we rede & se in the same hystories the valiant mennes bodyes prostrate: the carcases of kynges/dukes/erles/knyghtes/and pages mengled all togider: all pride & contention abated. The bryght harness dyed with blode: the wounded coursers drawynge after them the deed bodyes of their lordes: the men cryeng: the tentes & townes brennyng. What is all this sight w otherlyke? For soth nouȝt els but

Beroaldus Ascentius /caterijs au-  
tores / de hystoriz laude scripieret  
quibus ex dictis quanti sit hystoria  
q̄ad vitam humanam utilis accom-  
modat atq̄ nemini non clarescit.  
Quas res liuidi oblatratores p-  
pendant (perpendere autem fa-  
perent). Haud absurdum ineptū  
existimabunt / sacerdotem hystori-  
as rerum militarium literis man-  
date nec minus voluptatis accō-  
modi / egregijs viris in eisdem les-  
& citandis prouētūrum. Quippe (vt  
paucis dicā) iusto bello: diuina hu-  
manaq̄ iura aut violata reparan-  
tur: aut iniuiolata conseruātur sce-  
lera reprimuntur: flagiosi coere-  
tur: virtus eminet / clarescit / extol-  
litur: boni probiq̄ debitib⁹ honoris  
bus illustrantur promouētur. Chri-  
sti fides contrā eiusdem sacratissi-  
mi nominis hostes protegitur. mu-  
nitur: tyranni legum cōtemptores  
alieneq̄ libertatis violatores sub-  
iiciuntur. Postremo diuina huma-  
naq̄ omnia debitū in ordinem res-  
diguntur stabiliuntur & augescunt.  
Præterea eadem rerum gestarum  
lectio ad rerum terrenarum notici-  
am: earundemq̄ cōtemptum ac pre-  
sentis vite miseriarū fastidium nō  
modicum videntur conducere. Sa-  
ne cum hystoriarum lectio ante o-  
culos obiciat: magnanimos duces  
ac milites armis fulgentibus deco-  
ratos sonipedibus ostro autoque  
in signibus insidentes: splendidos  
ordines apparatusq̄ exercituum  
feroces ac bello instructos: lituos  
rauco clangore aera replentes: ve-  
ttes vexillosoq̄ auro fulgentes ad  
solemq̄ micantes: cæteraq̄ id gen-  
rei militaris insignia. Quid aliud  
queso vniuersa haec pompa q̄ terre  
ne opulentie inanis ostentatio: cu-  
ritiose conquerita: anxie coacer-  
uata: et ad ruinam perniciemq̄ in-  
genti mortalium dementia obie-  
cta inq̄ perditionem exposita. At  
contra: cum paulo post eisdem in  
hystorijs legamus et ante oculos  
cernamus duces comarcos / satrapas  
equites.

## The preface of Alexander Barclay.

equites veteranos gregariosq; milites sparsum postratos hortida ferociū cadavera militum humi strata mortibundaq; membra solum pulaneia occisorum cūmuloꝝ sine delectu concutata arma fanguine ledata saucios equos mortibunda don inox corpora trahentes gemini mortient ſuni: Namnam ac ſumum caſtorum vrbium templeruinq; ardentiū exeteraq; bellū horrenda ſpectacula. Quid earq; huicemodi id genus alia? Nēpe nihil aliud q; maniſta mortaliū bellutne ſacie argumenta: terrene vanitatis exempla: humani exitus miferanda ſpectacula: quæ principum immoderatam dominandi libidinem decrantiquæc secundas res generi humano intollerabiles probant: ac ſuipſius ſtūcia: ne dicā dementia in preeipicii ruentis hominem maniſtant. Innumerabilia ſaluberrinac huiuscemodi exempla: quæ ex rerum gestarum leſione proueniunt: animum adigerunt ut ex Latino in vulgarem sermonem hanc hystoriā transferrem: atq; eo libentius presul eximie quoniam rem grātam accep tamq; tibi futuram intelligo. Ego igitur animo accipias queſo hanc laboris nostri lucubraciunculam: In qua quicquid absurdum ineptū minusq; elimatū fuerit: id mea ignorantiae aſcribi velim. Si quid conſonum quod legentium audientiū animos aut aures oblectet obiter occurrat: omne in te prefus egregie: gratiam transſerri volo qui omnium primus ad hunc me impuleris laborem: ſopitumq; ingeniolum ac ſtudium reſuſcitaueris.

Vale.

Ex cellula Hatfelden regis. iii.  
Idus Nouembris.

els but an evident ſpectacle of mannes brutall crudelitc: and an exāple of mundayne banite: declarynge the immoderat & insatiable despze of dominion of yetthelp princes: and prouing that unto man welch is intolerable / & iſcouched by his owne foly. These manyfolde and holſome exāples: recipicented before our ſight by reding of cronycles: hath moued my mynd to traſlate this preſent hystorie forth of latyn into our maternal langage. But among all other noble men of this region: moſt hys and myghty prince: ye ſeme unto me moſt worthy and couenient: to whole grace I ſhuld deycat this hystorie: bothe for myne owne derty to be obſerued anciest your magnifcence: and also for the excellent worthynelle of your merites & great poſtice of chyualry/ whiche lately haue aperted in yourwhyle ye nat with leſſe wyldeſſe than valiantyſe haue bayniquyſhed the inuadour and boldent enmy of the comen wele of England. In whiche noble & gloriouſ acte ye haue pured your ſelfe lyke unto myghty Maſtus. But this I omyte: as thynge euidently knownen to euery man: leſt I myght ſeme rather to recoure these your ſtrong dedes for apuſation: than for true relation. Wherfore moſt myghty & magnifcent prince: pleas it pouit hyghneſſe of gracious bentuolence to accepte this ſmal preſent traſlated by yo<sup>r</sup> beedman to pleasure & profit of al gentylmen of this region: but namely of your hyghnes & of the noble men of your pgeny & affynite. But to thintent that this my ſmall gyft ſomwhat may be augmented: my ſelfe/ my ſcruyce/ and prayer: I offre wthall unto your hygnes.

¶ Thus endeth the preface of this  
preſent cronycle: by Alexander Bar-  
clay preſt dyrect unto the ryght  
hys and myghty prince  
Thomas duke of  
Northfolke.

An extract declarynge the boke folowing.      fo. primo.

Chere begynneth a compendyous extracte / contaynyng breffely the  
effeete and processe of this present cronycle / compyled in latyn by  
the famous Romayn Salust. And traſlated into englyſſhe by  
Alexander Barcley preest / at comaundement of the ryght  
hygh & myghty prince Thomas duke of Northfolke.



In this present cronycle or hystory of Rome: is written the batayle / whiche the Romayns had with Jugurth / usurper of the kyngdome of Numydij. The lande of Numydij is parte of the countrey of Afryke. In whiche raygned somtyme a kynge named Massinissa: felowe and frende to the empyre of Rhome. This Massinissa had thre sonnes thus named: Micipsa / Manastabal / and Galusa. But after the deth of Manastabal and Galusa: the first brother named Micipsa / obtained the kyngdome of Numydij alone / without partyner. Soz after the custome of Numydij / heritages are wont to be deuided among brethern by equal portions / after dyscease of theyz parentes / of whome suche heritage issueth. This Micipsa so crowned kynge of hole Numydij had two sonnes / the first called Adherbal / the seconde Hiempſall. But his brother Manastabal whiche was departed before / left behynde hym one bastarde sonne named Jugurth: to whom his grandfather Massinissa bequethed none heritage / but left hym priuate without lande or lyuelodde / soz alsmoche as he was vnlauffly borne. The kynge Micipsa was moued with pyte & compassyon agaynst this Jugurth: and cōſideryng that he was his brotherrs sonne / & without conforſte / receyued hym into his house / and cheſtilshed hym in all thynges / as he dyde his owne sonnes. This Jugurth as he grewe in stature / so grewe he in all gyftes belon- gynge to nature / and became a right strong & hardy knyght / and also more excellent in wylidome / than in courage or myght / and was moche elder than the two sonnes of Micipsa: named Adher ball & Hiempſall. What tyme Micipsa cōſidered the flouryng age / manlynes / & wyſdomme of Jugurth. And on the other parte / whan he remebred the feble yongth & vncertainte of his owne two sonnes / in this advisemet his mynde was sore troubled w̄ dzedē: lest after his deethe / the same Jugurth myght inuade and usurpe unto hymſelſe the kyngdome of Numydij / his owne two sonnes Jugurth.

A. i.

**S. A. J.** Vius hystoric narrationem ne inaniſ no- ua querā aut superbe inuēta cōtem nā sic ex Joanne Chris- toſomo ſoldo habeto. Exordio premiſorem ipſā aggrediſ. Numi- da eſt pars Africæ in qua regnauit Massi- nilla rex, ſoci⁹, et ami- cus / populi romani. Hic Massinillā tres ha- buit filios Micipſam, Manastabale, et Galus ſā. Sed mortuo Manas- tabale et Galusa / Mi- cipſa ſolus regnū obti- nuit / qui Adherbalem / et Hiempſalē filios ex ſe genuit. Jugurtha autem filium fratriſ Manastabalis educa- uit vt filiū quem Maſ- finilla auus priuatum reliquerat: quia ex cō- cubina natus erat. Sed Jugurtha et cor- poris virib⁹ ac virtute animi plurimum va- lebat, iugentio maxime excellens, maior natu Adherbale et Hiēptiale Micipſa: ig. & timēs ne post mortem ſuam Ju- gurtha patris liberis Adherbale et Hiēpſa- le exiſtēbus regnum ſibi viſurparet / multum eo negocio permotus

## An extract declaryng

est: maitaq; in aio voluebat quib; modis recognoscere (ut ipse timebat) tollere possit e medio. Tandem hac in aio herebat sententia: se velle Iugurtha belili periculis obiectare et eo modo fortunam ceterare si quo modo pertire posset. Quum igit; populus Romanus Numaciam Hispanie cuius erat deinceps Scipione consideret. Micipsa auxilia peditu; et equitum ad id bellu; populo Romano misit: quibus Iugurtha pescit sperans illu; i eo bello posse incedere. Sed ea res loge aliter ac ratus erat euenit. Nam virtus Iugurtha i eo bello plurimū enuit, ac multa præclarata facinora gerit: Ob qua; Scipio Iugurtha in concione laudatum: ac donis militariis magnifice donatum: finito bello, ac capta et deleta numancia: ad Micipiam remisit cum litteris in quibus virtutem Iugurthæ miris laudibus extollebat. Quo factu; est ut Micipsa mutato cœilio atq; aio: quem antea interire cupiebat: huc maxime in columem vellit. Micipsa igit; Iugurtha sibi in filiu; adoptauit: et paulo post mortiens fortunas suas oes: ac regnum ipsu;: cum liberis cœmune reliquit. Mortuo Micipsa: cū reguli Adherbal, Hiempsal, et

beyng nat of power to defende theselſe. Micipsa after these thynges cōſyzed: determined to obiect this Jugurth unto paryll of warre/ and by ſuch meanes to assay if it might fortune hym to be ſlayne in batell. Wherefore what tyme þ remains hauring Scipio for their capitaine/ besieged the cyte of Numance: this Micipſa ſent unto the remains to þ same batayle great ſocours both of horſmen and of fotemen. And made Jugurthe captayn ouer them. This dyde he truſtyng that it was poſſible and lykely ynough that this Jugurth a knyght yonge / lusty / and deſtitute of honour/ myght by ſome chaice of fortune be ſlayne in batayle/ as I ſayd before. But at conclusion it fortuned moche contrary. For the boldnesſe and strength of Jugurthe in that warre was well proued and knownen. For many noble and valiant aces of chivalry dyd he: wherby he wanne moche laude and glori/ with great loue & fauour/nat onely of Scipio the capitaine/but also of all the nobleſt men of the Romayne army. In ſomoche that after this warre was fyniſhed: and the cyte of Numance diſtroyed the capitaine Scipio assembled his hole army: and before them all with magniſcent and fauorable wordes cōmended Jugurth with meruerlous laudes. This done he rewarded hym with many & riche gyftes of chivalry. And ſent hym agayneto the kyng Micipſa with letters/ wherin also he commended this Jugurth with great laude and prayſyng. By iſtigacion of whiche thynges it ſo befell: that where as the kyng Micipſa/ nat long before desyzed nothyng more than þ deth of Jugurth: nowe he coueted nouȝt ſomoche as conſeruation of his lyfe & helth. So that nat long after he adopted hym as his ſonne/ and ordayned in his teſtamente hym to be one of his heires & partner of his kyngdome with his two other naturall ſonnes. Whiche ordinaunce he never chaunged/ but at his departyng increased his fauour and beneſites agaynst þ same Jugurth/ leauynge hym nat onely partner of his kyngdome/ but also of all his treaſours. And belyde this dectyed hym to be protectour of his two naturall ſonnes/ and of they; porcions of the kyngdome. Hone after this ordinaunce the kyng Micipſa departed fro lyfe. But whan þ thre princes Adherbal, Hiempsall/ and Jugurth determined amonge them the tyme whan the treaſoure ſhulde be deuided and the boundes of the kyngdome lymitid to them eche one his parte. At this asſembly grewe a diſſencion betwene Hiempsall & Jugurth/ by occaſion wherof Jugurth ſhortely after ſlew Hiempsall by treason and gyle. After this Hiempsall was ſlayne Jugurthe ſired his mynde to poſſe the hole kyngdome of Numidy. Wherefore he

prepared a great & strong army agaynst the other brother Adherball / and at last whan bothe mette in batayle the army of Adherball was ouerthowen / and hymselfe put to flyght. Adherball thus ouercome and spoyled of his kyngdome fleddi vnto Rome / and there before the senatours declared the tyrannous cruelte of Jugurtha agaynst hym committed / and agaynst his brother Hiempsall cruelly murdere: destroyng socours of the same senatours / wpytfull wordes and lamentable complayntes. At conclusion it was decreed of the senatours / that .x. noble men of Rome shulde besent embassadours to Numydye / to deuyde the kyngdome betwene Adherball and Jugurtha indifferetly. The same embassadours hasted them to Numydye / and dyde the comaundement of the senate to them inioyned: but moare to the fauour of Jugurtha than Adherball. Whan the kyngdome was departed and deuided / and the sayd embassadours were also departed from Africke towarde Rome: Jugurtha sette his mynde yet ones agarn to invade and vsurpe the part of þ kyngdome which belonged to Adherball / by assignement of the embassadours. Wherfoze he assembled a newe army / and with the same invaded his kyngdome: Adherball compelled by necessite assembled also an other army for his part / and proceded forthe and mette with Jugurtha. But anone after they toynd batayle / Jugurtha ouerthrew the hoost of Adherball & put hym to flyght / constrainyng hym to fle with a fewe horsmen about hym into a walled towne nere by / named Cyrrha. Jugurtha anone besieged the towne on all partes. In the meane tyme Adherball by letters certified þ senatours of Rome in what state Jugurtha had brought hym. How he was bereft of his kyngdome by craultie & ambition of Jugurtha: how he was brought to extremite by hunger and force of armes / nat able to abyde the besegyng any lenger: how it appered evidently that Jugurtha set lytell by the dectees & ordinaunce of the senatours / And at conclusion of the same letters he humbly besought the senate of ayde and socours in this his extremite. Whan these letters were redde before the senatours assembled: many of them were: which iuged it thyng expedient and conuentent: to socour Adherball. And anone to sende an army into Africke agaynst Jugurtha. But his frendes whome he hadde bought for money at Rome: made suche ressstence that no suche ordinaunce coude come to effect / noz passe forthe agaynst hym. Neuerthelesse newe embassadours were sent ones agayne to Jugurtha / and that men auncient and of great authorite: to compell and comaunde hym in name of the senatours to desyst from his entreprise and cruels Jugurtha.

Jugurtha regnū inter se diuidere cōstituissēt loco et tempore ad id faciēdum cōstituto Iugurtha Hiēpsalem na- tu minorem p̄ insidias interfecit. Quo extinc- to quā ad occupādum vniuersū regnū iecisset animū cōtra Adherba- lem exercitū parat: et prelio facto illū victum fūdit fugatq; Adherbal victus ac regno spolia- tus Romā venit: expos- sitaq; nephanda crude- litate Iugurtha in se & fratre: suū Hiēpsale extinctū a senatu petit auxilium cōtra illum. Senatus decreto fit ut mittantur decem lega- ti qui regnū inter Adherbalem et Iugurthā diuiderēt. Diuiso itaq; regno cum legati Ro- mani ex Africca dices- siliēt rursus Iugurtha animū intēdit ad occu- pādum imperiū Adher- balis. Igī cōsideratū cō- parato regnū eius in- uadit. Adherbal neceli- tate coactus: et ipse co- pias parat: et Iugurtha obuiā proficit. Mox prelio cōnīllo Iu- gurtha Adherbalis exer- citū fundit: atq; ipsum Adherbalē cum paucis eq̄ib⁹ in Cirrha oppi- dū fugere cōpellit. Iu- gurtha oppidum obsis- det. Interea Adherbal per līas senatū monet quo ī statu fortuna sue sint positi: regno se spo- liatū a Iugurtha ehe- fame ac ferro ad extre-

## An extract declaryng

ma esse deductum nec amplius obſidionē posse ſuſtincere. Jugurtham decreta ſenatus perui facere petere ut ſibi auxiliū mittat. His littoris in ſenatu recitatis fuerū qui cencerēt ſtam Adherbali ſubueni endū eſſe / et exercitū i Africā contra Jugurthā eſſe mittendū. Sed rēfūtib⁹ amicis Jugurthę quos ſibi pecunijs parauerat: ne quid tale fieret. Legati ad Jugurthā mittunt qui verbis ſenat⁹ eū ab incepto deſiſtere cogerēt. Jugurtha legatis verba dedit quoaduq; diſcēſſere. Quo facto illi qui Jugurthā cōtra cū Adherbale i tra oppidū obſideban̄ pſuadēt ei/ ut oppidū Jugurthę tra dat: rātū ab eo vitā pezat. Deditioē igitur ſa eti Jugurtha ſtam cōtra fidē datā Adherbale excruiatū iterficit. Quæquā Romē nūciata eſſet: grauit a ſenatu ſūt habita. Igif Luci⁹ Calphurnius Bestia cōſul cū exercitu cōtra Jugurthā mittit a quo cōſul pecunia corrupt⁹ turpiter cū eo ſedus fecit: quā rem ſenat⁹ po- pulusq; roman⁹ grauit ter tulit. Post Calphurniu Albinus cōſul mit- tis cōtra Jugurtham a quo diu iudicatiōib⁹ tractatus cū ei rex ſpē deditiois iaceret: tan dem te i ſacta quia tē- pus comitiorū iſtabat:

tie in payne of theyr hye displeasure. Jugurth blynded theſe im- bassadours with fayre wordes and rewardes / till they were de- parted agayn from Numidy to Rome / wout any thing brought to ende. Whan this was knownen at Cœtha where Adherball lay besieged: they whiche were with Adherball within the towne counſelled hym to yelde vp the towne to Jugurth / vpon cōdicion onely to haue his lyfe pardoned vnto hym. Adherball conſtrai- ned by famine and other necessities condicſended to this counſell. But anone after the towne was yelded / Jugurth contrary to his fayth & promes whiche he had made to Adherball: ſlew hym with greuous & horriblie tourment. Whan this dede was knownen at Rome: the ſenatours were ſore moued agaynst hym. And toke his demeanour and dedes inhumayne greuously. Wherfore by commen aſſent of the ſenatours and commens of Rome: one na- med Licius Calphurnius that tyme consull of Rome / was ſent with a ſtrong army into Numidy agaynst Jugurth. But with iſhorte ſeafon this Calphurnius coſrupted and accloyed with money by Jugurth made a foule bonde of peace w hym to great diſhonoure and shame bothe of hymſelfe / and of all the empire of Rome: for which dede the ſenatours and commens of Rome were greuously diſpleased. Wherfore Calphurnius was called home agayne to Rome with great diſhonoure and rebuke. Af- ter this Calphurnius / an other romayn named Albinus was elect consull and dyrect with newe ſupplement of warriours into Numidy agaynst Jugurth. But this Jugurth droue hym forth vnder hope and coloure / as if he wolde yelde hymſelfe to the ſayd Albinus: ſo longe tyl at laſt the tyme approched of election of newe consuls. Wherfore Albinus of neceſſe conſtrayned: and as decrees of the romayns commaunded: retourned agayne to Rome to be at the ſayd election (as he was bounde) without any dede laudably done in Numidy. And at his departinge left be- hynde hym in Numidy his brother named Aulus: to be captayn in his ſteade / & ruler of his army / and alſo of the prouince where the ſame army ſojournded till the wynter were ouer paſſed. Whattyme Albinus was departed towarde Rome: this Aulus blynded by ralſhenes and foly / behaued hymſelfe ryght vndi- ſcretly in his towne. In ſomoche that he caſled the army vnto viage / and warfare forth of theyr tentes in the moneth of Janua- ry: in coldeſt and Sharpeſt ſeafon of wynter. This dyde he: other bycause he truſted to ende the batayle in his tyme: and ſo therby to wynne thanke and worlhypp: or els to thent to gete money of Jugurth by grauityng vnto hym peace & rest for his tyme. And

so to cōstrayne hym to bye his peace. Whan Jugurth perceyued this vnerpertnes and tasche folys of Iulius: he sent vnto hym em- bassadours as if he were a ferde: by dissimulation to requyze of hym peace. And in the meane tyme the same Jugurth ledde his army among bylles & wodes fainyng as if he fledde from Iulius for drede. Iulius vnderstanding this pursued & followed hym more egarly & hastely / without aduysment / orde / or pusion. Whan Jugurth sawe that he had attised & drawen the Romains into a place to syght for his auaantage: anone he assayled them & em- batayled with them fyery / in which batayle he ouercame the ro- mains & putte them to flyght. On the next morne after Jugurth and Iulius came togyder in communicacion. And at last trewes was styrken bytwene borthe parties / in this maner & by such cō- dicionis : that all the romains shuld passe vnder a spere in signe of subieccyon / and that they were ouercome without moze hurt. And after warde within ten dayes all shulde depart out of Numidys / & so was it done. Whan tydys herof were brought to ro- me: all the citie was troubled with drede & displeasure. After this shamefull trewes of Iulius and disconfiture & flyght of the ro- mayne army / a noble man named Metellus was creat consul of Rome / & by comen assent sende vnto Numidi agaynst Jugurth. This Metellus behaued hymselfe as a noble captaine and va- llant warriour: and perceyuyng that the residue of the army which was escaped / was disolute and out of order / by ouer moch libertie. And by faute of the captains / which were before / he first of all reduced the sowdaiours to good rule and order / accordaninge to the auncient ordinaunces of chyualry: and than in tyme con- ueniēt / after his army was brought to order / he assai'd Jugurth fyery. And after certayne sharpe and greuous batayles / he di- minished his riches / his myght & power & brought hym almost to extremite. After this Metellus: one named Marius last of all was creat consul / and the prouince & warre of Numidys decreed and cōmited to hym. This Marius anone pursued Jugurth in batayle moost sharply & fierly of all other / insomuche that fin- nally he bterly brought hym to extremite: his stendes / his riches and power / brought all to nought. And at conclusion by treason / & betrayeng of one Bocchus / kyng of the Mauriens: Jugurth was deliuered to the same Marius as prisoner: whome he ledde bounde to Rome with great glory & triumphhe. At last this Ju- gurth was thrown into prison / where at conclusion he ended his miserable lyfe / in dolors & captiuuite. This is the argument and processe of all this hystory and cronicle: in whiche the redat / of Jugurth.

Romā redist Aulo fra-  
tre suo pro p̄tore reli-  
cto q̄ exercitū et pro-  
mīcī p̄cesset. Hic seu  
belli cōficiēd: cupidus:  
seu vt a rege pecuniam  
acciperet: mēle Ianua-  
rio aspera hyeme exer-  
citū ex tabernaculis in  
expeditionē vocat. Ju-  
gurtha cognita imperi-  
tia eius velut pauidus  
ad eum supplices lega-  
tos mittit. Ipse exerci-  
tū per loca saltuosa ve-  
luti fugiens dicit. Au-  
lus hoc magis inseguis-  
tur. Vbi Jugurtha vis-  
det se traxit Romā-  
nos in locū sibi cōmo-  
dū ad pugnādū prelū  
cōmittit: i quo Romā-  
nos fūdit ac fugat. Po-  
stera die quū Aulus et  
Jugurtha in colloquū  
venisset tedus iter eos  
factū est ita vt oēs Ro-  
mani icolumes sub ius-  
gū initterentur: et post  
vt decem diebus extra  
Numidiam dicereret.  
Quę quū Roing nunci-  
ata euent dolor ac ti-  
mor oēs inuasit. Post  
Auli sedus et romani  
exercit⁹ fugā Metello  
consuli prouincia Nu-  
midia per sortē euenit.  
Hic optimi īoperatoris  
artib⁹ & sus cū exerci-  
tū vicio superiorū ducū  
licētia solutū accipis-  
set: ad normā veteris dis-  
ciplinæ reduxit. Atq̄  
ita Jugurtha aggreditus  
aliquot grauibus p̄z-  
liss opes eius attruit.  
Postremo Caius Ma-  
rius post Metelū cōful-

## The prologue

creatuscū ei Numidia  
provinciadecreta esset  
Iugurthā bello perse-  
quēs tandem illū ad ex-  
tremā cōpulit et p̄ pro-  
ditionē sibi traditū in  
triūphū duxit. Hoc est  
totius huius operis ar-  
gumentum.

Praefatio huius operis  
per Caijum Crispū Sa-  
lustium historiogra-  
phum clarissimum.

**F**Also querit de na-  
tura sua genus hu-  
manum q̄etas im-  
becilla artq̄ aui breuis  
forte pocius q̄ virtute  
regat. Nam contra repu-  
tādo neq; maius aliud  
n̄q; prestabilius inue-  
nies: magisq; naturę in-  
dustriam hoim, q̄ vim  
aut tempus deesse.

Sed dux atq; ioperat  
vitę mortaliū animus  
est qui vbi ad gloriam  
virtuti via grasaſ abū  
de pordens / potēsq; / et  
clarus est: neq; fortuna  
egit. Quippe quę pro-  
bitatem / industriam / a-  
diasq; bonas artes / neq;  
date / neq; eripere cui  
quam potest. Sin capt⁹  
prauis cupidinibus ad  
inertia i voluntates  
corporis pessūdatus est  
principia libidine pa-  
lisper vsus: vbi p̄ seco-  
diā vites / etas / igeniū /  
defluxerunt: naturę infi-  
mitas accusat suā qui-  
que culpi authores ad  
negotia transferūt. Q;  
si hominib⁹ bōnarū re-  
rum tanta cura esset:  
quāto studio aliena n̄r

whatso euer condicōn and degre he be: shall synde both profite  
and pleasure: if he redde it attentyly and with good aduertens.  
And moost namely gentylmen apt to attayne to glorious fame &  
honour / by fayt of chyualry: shall synde both pleasaunt and pro-  
fitable pastime / in redyng this hystory: vnto whose erample / p̄fite-  
fice / and pleasure I chefely haue translated the same.

**C**The prologue of this present cronycle compyled  
in laten by the famous romayn Salust: and traſla-  
ted into englyſſhe by Alexander Barclay preest.



**A**nkynde wrongfully complayneth of his  
naturall dysposition: sayeng / that his feble &  
frayle lyfe of shorte cōtinuaunce of tyme / is ra-  
ther ruled by chaunes of fortune: than by pu-  
sion of strength or vertu. But if man welcōsy-  
der his natural inclinacion: contrary to such op̄i-  
tion: he shall synde that nothyng longyng to  
mankynde / may be founde & poued greater / better / or more pres-  
eminent than his naturall inclinacion: and ȳ his owne diligēce &  
exercys / rather fayleth hym / than outher myght or longe conti-  
nuāce of lyfe tyme. But in this opinion to iuge indifferētē: let  
man understande that the mynde is ordayned / gyder / ruler & ca-  
ptayne of mānes lyfe: which mynde: whan it valiantly intēdeth  
to attayne / to worshyp & dignite / by way of vertu: it is excellent  
ynough myghty and clere of it selfe: so that it nedeth nat to forse  
of fortune / nor to care for her vncertayne gystes: but to dyspise  
her as nat able to gyue to any man honesty / diligence or other  
good and vertuous exercises: nor able to deprive man agayne of  
the same gystes: after he hath obtayned þ same. But on the other  
part if this mynde of mā / taken & blynded w̄towardē pleasures  
be subdued vnto slouth & bodily lustes: after it hath exercised &  
occupied such leydous pleasure by a lytel season: & after that by  
cowardous slouth / both the strength the tyme & the wyt at vanis-  
hed away & decayed: than anone the infirmitie & fel p̄lies of na-  
ture is accused & put in blame. And thus / all such slouthfull doers  
trāspose & lay away the faute which in themself is culpable / vnto  
the difficulte of such belynesses / as they haue omitted by negligē-  
ce. But if it were so: that men had as great cure & affeccion of  
thyngs good and profitable / as they haue desyre & pleasure in se-  
kyng & folowing thyngs contrary vnto them & nothyng p̄fitable

ye: & also moch pylous & hurtfull: than shuld nat they be more rulēd by þ chaices of fortune / than they shuld rule þ sayd chaices. And thus shulde they attayne & procede vnto so great excellēce: that where they be mortall of nature they shuld be made immortall by glory & renowned fame. For in lykewyse as man is composed & made of. ii. thynge (that is to say of the body & soule) right so all thynge / all belynesses & exercises / to mankynde belonging / foloweth / some þ nature of the body: to decay brefely & to be mortall: as it is / some other folowe þ nature of the soule / to be eternall & immortall: as it is. Whiche thing forther to pue by erāple: we dayly se that þ goodly beauty of þ visage & shape of mankynde / great abundance of riches / & also the strength of the body / with all other suchē thynge & semblable / decayeth & vanissheth away within short tyme. But contrarely þ excellent & worthy actes: belonging to manes wyt: be immortall & everlastynge: as the soule is immortall. And finally in lykewyse as þ begynnyng of þ gystes corpall or natuall / & of the gystes of fortune is caduke / bayne & uncertayn: ryght so is the ende of þ same mutable & trāsitory. And all thynge: which be borne and spryngynge: agayne decayeth & approacheth to deth: and whan these same be growen & increased to the heghth of theyz perfeccion: agayne they begyne to decay and consume by age and debilitē. But the mynde and soule beyng incorruptē eternall and gouernoure of mankynde / ruleth and weldeth all thynge: but it selfe can nat be violently ruled nor compelled by any thynge earthly / cosyderyng the frawyll / whiche it optayneth of his creatour. For whiche consyderacion the frowarde iniquite of them is more to be marueyled: which subdued to the toyes & pleasures of the body / passe forthe the tyme of theyz lyfe / in carnall lustes and ydelnes. But towchynge theyz wyt (whiche is the best gyft and grettest treasure graunted to mankynde) that suffre they to slomber and to slepe without exercise / in slouthe and ydelnes: whose dulnes surely is somoche more to be blamed: namely syth so many and diuers noble exercises & occupations of the mynde be: by whom moost clere nobles and fame vndefyled may be ostayned. But of suchē diuers exercises concerning the mynde some are better refusid: than procured in troublous tymes & inquiet. And namely in this tyme turbulent and season vnquiet: great offices / lordshypes / rowmes to commaunde & rule: and brefely to speke. All maner cure cōcernyng the administration of thynge apperteyning to the commen wele: semeth vnto me nat at all to be couyted or desyred of any wylē man. For neyther is honoure gyuen vnto vertue / as condigne rewarde and worthy

hil profitura: multūq; etiā periculosa petunt: neq; magis regerent̄ casib; q̄ regeret̄ casus et eo magnitudinis procederent: vbi pro mortalibus gl̄ia eterni fieret. Nam vti genus humānū compositum ex corpore et aia est: ita res cūct̄: studia q̄ oia: alia corporis, alia animi naturā sequuntur. Igit̄ pl̄ara facies/magnē diuitiæ ad hoc vis corporis et alia huiusmodi oia breui dilabūtur. At ingenij egregia facinora: sicuti aia immortalia sunt. Postremo corporis et fortunæ bonorum vt initium sic finis est.

Omniaq; orta occidūt et aucta senescunt.

Animus incorruptus / eternus / rector humani generis: agit atq; habet omnia / neq; ipse habetur. Quo magis prauitas eorū est admiranda: qui corporis dediti gaudijs plūxū et ignauiam ærat̄ agūt. Ceterum ingenii (quo neq; melius neq; amplius est i natura mortaliū) incultu atq; secordia torpescere sinunt p fertim cū tā multe varieq; artes animi sit qbus summa claritudo paratur. Verū ex his magistratus / et iperā postremo ois cura rerū publicarū minime mihi hac tē pestate cupiēda vidēt / qm̄ neq; virtuti honos

## The prologue

datur: neq; illi quibus  
per fraudē ius fuit. Utq;  
eo magis tuti aut ho-  
nesti sunt. Nam a qui-  
dem regere patriā aut  
parētes quamq; et pos-  
sus: et delicta corrīgas.  
tamē importunum est:  
quum presertim oēs re-  
rum mutatiōes:cedem,  
fugam, aliaq; hostilia  
portendant.

Fructa autē niti: neq;  
aliud ( se fatigādo) ni-  
si odiū querere:extre-  
mæ dementiæ est. Ni si  
forte quē in honesta et  
pniciosa libido tenet:  
decus atq; libertatem  
gratificati suā. Cæterū  
ex alijs negocijs quæ  
ingenio exercētur: in-  
primis magno usui est  
memoria retū gestarū:  
cuius de virtute ( quia  
multi dixerū) puto pre-  
tereūdū: si l'ne per insol-  
enciā qs existimet me  
studiū meū laudando  
extollere. At cōtra cre-  
do fore: q; quia decreui  
procul a rep. etatē ege-  
re: tanto tam p̄ utili la-  
bori meo: nomen iner-  
tiæ imponāt. Certe qui-  
bus maxima industria  
videtur salutare plebē:  
et cōiuīs gratiā que-  
sere.

Qui si reputauerint et  
in quib; ego tempori  
bus magistratus ade-  
ptus sum: et quales viri  
a se qui nequierint: et  
quæ genera hominum  
postea in senatum pue-  
nerint: profecto existi-  
mabunt me magis me-

thereto belongyng neither suchē as haue gotten furſdiction þ ho-  
nour by ſcaude & vnafull meanes ( in lyke caſe) can nat be mo-  
re ſure nor more honest by meane of ſuch honour lo vnrightwyl-  
ly obtayned. For certenly a man to rule his countrey & kyntred by  
myght & violence: all if he haue power ſo to do / & also though he  
ryght wylly correct þ crimes of trāgrellours & miſdoers. Ne-  
uertheles: ſo to do it is vnbeneſeuſfull & vnerpedient. And often  
at coſclusion moze perilous & daūgerous: than it is ſure or p̄fi-  
able / & that namely ſyth all mutacions of thynges / and chaunges  
of gouernours pretendē and thretten slaughter / of ſome exiles or  
wylfull flyght / impizonmēt with otherlyke cruelties moze lon-  
gyng to ennemys of a cōmen wele / than to defeders of the ſame.  
Than forthermoze: a man to labour to þ vttermoſt of his power /  
and all in bayne. And in weryenge hymſelfe to gete nougħt els  
but euylwyll and hatred: it is a point of extreame & vtter madnes/  
except perchaunce it be ſuch one / whiche hath a dishonest / a foule &  
perilous pleasure to caſt away for nougħt his owne worthyppe  
and libertie / for pleasure of a fewe myghty men usurpers of dos-  
minton & lordshyp. But among all other beſtneſſe / whiche are ex-  
ercised by mānes wyt / the redyng of hystorics & the reducyng of  
the ſame to memory: is moch moze neceſſary & p̄fitable to all de-  
grees beryng rule of a cōmen wele / but moch namelij vnto priſces.  
Of power/profeſ/ & cōmodite wherof: I purpose at thiſ tyme to  
paſſe ouer wſilence / bycause many other authours haue w̄itten  
of the ſame before my tyme. And alſo that no man ſhulde ſuppoſe  
my ſelfe by pride or inſolēce: to boſt mync owne ſtudy vainly lau-  
dyng þ ſame. But moch contrary I beleue rather þ ſome enuiouſ  
maliguets ſhalbe herafter / whiche ſhall obiect & aſcribe a name of  
ſlouth and negligēce to thiſ my labour. How great & profitabile  
ſo euer it be: & that bycause I haue determined to lede my lyfe ſo-  
litarely: ferre from medlyng with the cōmen wele. Certaiñly (as  
I ſuppoſe) they onely ſhall impute and aſcribe ſuche name to me  
and to thiſ my laboure: whiche thynketh it a moost great & ſin-  
gular craft or practiſed wyldeome to wynne beniuolence / by ſa-  
luting the cōmen people / and by dyſſimulate reverence done to  
euery man paſſyng by them / or els to gete fauour by ſeftryng and  
ſlateryng the commenſy. Whiche enuiouſ maligners: yf they  
wolde conſider bothe in what maner ſeafons and in what ieopar-  
dous tymes I haue obtayned offiſes and rowmes of auctorite &  
what men wold: gladly / and yet myght nat obtayne ſuche row-  
mes Moreouer yf they call to mynde what maner of men afters-  
warde came into the ordre of ſenatours For certayne if my wyl-

lers consider inedifferently these premisses: than shall they thinke that I haue chaunged the purpose of my mynde: moze for cause reasonable: and by good aduisement than for slouth & cowardise/ and they shall fynde / that moze profet shall come to the commen wale by this my study ( which they count but ydernes and tyme misspent) than of the labour and besynes whiche other men take vpon them fayntly and iniustly administring the commen wele. And they shall fynde that my writing shal proue it selfe moze laudable and profitable to the cōmente/ than theyz bndiscrete gouernance. For often haue I herde of the famous princes Quintus Maximus / & Publius Scipio/ and besyde these of many other ryght famous and worthy men of the citie of Rome whitch whan they behelde the ymages of theyz forefathers made of stone / of ware/ or of metall/ and erect into hye trones in memoriall of the valiaunt and magnifificent actes by them done for the commen wele : the sayd princes in aduisyng such ymages were wont to say vnto suche as stode nere by them : that theyz myndes were gretely kyndeled to vertue and nobles in cōtempling of the same. The case is playne: ¶ such figures of metall/ stone/or ware had nat such operacion nor myght within them selfe . But such hygh courage & flame was kyndeled and increased in the hardy hertes of such noble men and valiant warriours / by remembraunce of the glorious dedes of theyz forefathers in theyz lyfe tyme/done & represented to their memory by such ymages / in somoche that this flame kyndled in theyz hertes to vertu coude never be slaked nor faciate in them/tyll tyme that they were equall with their forefathers in vertu/fame/and glory. Than how moch moze ought the clere descripcion of hystories to kyndell vnto boldnes and vertu/ the myndes of noble men by redyng of the same. But moche contrary/ if we aduert the worlde as it is now among all men whiche lyue/and conforme themselves to the maners vsed nowe adayes/ where shall we fynde one:but that wyll striue and contendre with theyz forefathers to ouercome them/other in couetise & superfluous riches/or els in prodigalite & wastfull expences / and nat in honest and laudable lyfe/ good exercices and diligence. And moreouer gentylmen of y first heed/ whiche were wont to preuent auncient noblemen & ascende vnto vertu & nobles / by vertuous maners: such laboure now to lordshyp/honour and authozite/by fraude & falsoode: rather than by very vertu or good meanes & laudable. After suche maner as if the office of a hye Juge / of a Tresourer/a Cōsull/a Prouost/and all such other great offices/ were noble and excellēt of themselves. And nat in maner as if suchē

tito q̄ ignauia iudiciū  
animi mei mutauisse:  
magisq; commodum ex  
ocio meo q̄ ex aliō & ne  
gocijs reipublice ven  
turum.

Nam s̄epe audiui Qui  
tum Maximū / Publitū  
Scipionē: pr̄terea ci  
uitatis nostrę præcla  
ros viros solitos ita di  
cere / quum imagines  
maiorū tuerētur vehe  
mentissime sibi animū  
ad virtutem accendi.  
Scilicet non cerā illā  
neq; figurā tātam vim  
in tēse habere sed me  
moria rerū gatārū eā  
flāmam egregijs viris  
i pectore crecere: neq;  
prius sedari: q̄ virtus  
eorū famam atq; glori  
am adequarerit,

At qui cōtra quis oīm  
est his moribus qui nō  
de diuicijs/ et sūptib⁹/  
non probitate/ neq; in  
dustria:cum maioribus  
suis contendat.

Etiam homines noui q  
per virtutē soliti erāt  
nobilitatem anteueni  
re: furtim: et per latro  
cinia potius quam ex  
bonis artibus ad impe  
ria et honores nitunt.

## The batayle

Perinde quasi pretura  
et cōsularus atq; oia a-  
lia huiusmodi : p se ip-  
sa clara et magnifica  
sint: ac non pinde habe-  
antur: vt eos: qui ea su-  
stinent virtus est.

Verum ego liberius al-  
tiusq; processi dū me ci-  
uitatis piger, tēdetq;. Nunc ad inceptum o-  
pus redeo.

offices shulde be counted of worshynes and dignite: after as the  
vertue and honour is of such as rule in the same offices and hy-  
rowmes. But playnly affirmyng the trouth: the man maketh the  
office noble & worshypfull: yf his maners shyne by vertue. But  
yf his conuersacion be contrary/no office/no rowme/ can make  
hym noble nor worshypfull. But this omittynge I haue proce-  
ded in this prologue with ouer ferre circūtaunce/ and also with  
somwhat to moche libertie of wordes/ more than in a preface is  
requisite: for that it pyteeth me of these tedious maners of this  
oure cite of Rome. But nowe wyll I come to my mater pur-  
posed/ and first interp̄yse begon.

C Of what mater Salust intendeth to treat in pro-  
ces of this boke / and what causes moueth hym of  
suche mater to wryte. C The fyſt chapter.

**B**Ellum scripturus  
sum: quod popu-  
lus Romanus cū  
Jugurtha rege Numis-  
darum gessit.

Primum quod magnū  
et atrox variaq; victo-  
ria fuit.

Deinde: quia superbix  
nobilitatis cum primū  
obuiatum est.

Quæ contentio diuina

**H**is Warke I purpose to wryte of the  
warre / whiche the Romayns had and execu-  
ted agaynst the tyranne Jugurth/wrongful-  
ly blurpyng the name of a kynge / ouer the  
lande of Numidye. Many causes moueth me  
by wrytyng to commende this warre to per-  
petual memory. First for that in the same was  
foughten at many tymes with great multitude of men on eyther  
partie/ with moche cruell murde and variable victory: the Ro-  
manis somtyme somtyme the Jugurthins prouaylyng in victo-  
ry. Forthermore because that first at this batayle: & from thens  
forwarde the commen people of Rome matched with the prin-  
ces/ resistyng theyr pride. For where as before this tymie the no-  
ble men of Rome oppresed and subdued the commens with vn-  
reasonable rigoure / the commens elect one named Marius a  
man of basse byrth to be cōsull of Rome/and captaine in this ba-  
tayle: whiche after he had obtainyd victory ouer Jugurth with  
great glory/triumphe/ & fauour of the commontie/ he supported  
them in such wryte agaynst the noble men: that of the same rose a  
ciuile bataille & greuous discorde. bytwene the noble men and cō-  
mens of Rome: Marius maintenyng the cōmens partie/ & Sil-  
la suspeyning þ partie of the noble men. Insomoch þ finally by-  
twene these two pties & captayns of þ same was foughten an vns-  
kynde/vnnaturall/ & cruel batel: to þ greuous ruine of þ Romay-  
ne empire/ & subuersion of the cōmen wele. Which cōtencion and

bariaunce confounded bothe the lawes of god and man/and by the same were all good ordinances disordred. And this same furiouſ debate & foly proceded at laſt to ſo vntreſonable madneſſe and excrete fury / that it neuer diſiſted/noz this bariaunce and diſcenction bytwene the noble men and commens neuer ceaſed: tyll tyme that cruell and mortal batayle foughten bytwene both parties/and tyll tyme that alſo diſtructiōn of the lande of Italy cōpelled both parties at laſt to conſyder theyr owne blynde foly & cruell furor: & ſo finally to mittigate & fyniſhe their debate & vntreſonable diſſencion. But fyrl or I begyn to write of this batell I ſhall repeat and declare a fewe thingz done before this warre began: to thentent that all thingz moſt cheſe/worthy & expedit to be knownen/may be more euident/open/ſcere/to the reders.

### Chow the kyng Massinissa came into the fauour of the Romayns/ and how the lande of Numydy was committed vnto hym. The ſeconde chapter.

**M**he Romayns had thre notable and famous batayles agaynt the Cartthaginēces/in which the ſame Romayns had great damage. Howbeit in conclusion of eucry batayle they wanne victory of theyr enemys: in the ſeconde of theſe batayles what tyme Hannibal duke and captayne of the Cartthaginēces wasted the welthe and riches of Italy moze than any other ennemy had euer done before/after the Romayns begaſe to haue any great name and to delate theyr dominion: A famous prince named Massinissa kyng of the lande of Numydy was receyued into frenſhippe & fauour of the Romayns: by one Publius Scipio capayne of the ſayd Romayns/which Scipio afterwarde for his manhode was named Scipio Africcan/because he ouercame & subdued the lande of Afrrike. This Massinissa recepued into fauour of the Romayns in the forſayd batayle dyd many noble and famous actes of chyualtry / with hygh valiantile & corage. For which dedes: after the Romayns had ouercome þ Cartaginēces & theyrcite: and after they had taken þrisoner the kyng Sciphar/ which had in Afrrike a worthy/ great/ & large impire the people of Rome gaue ſtrely vnto the ſame kyng Massinissa/ all ſuche cities & landes as they had taken and wone in batayle. For which benefites ſo magnificet & ample Massinissa cōtinued vnto them in profitable & faythfull frenſhipp his lyfe inbutyng:

cuncta et humana per-  
misiuit, eoq; vecordiaz  
processit, vt studijs ci-  
uilibus, bellum, atque  
vauitas Italie, ſinem  
faceret.

Sed priusq; huiuscemo-  
di initium expediam,  
pauca ſupra repetam,  
quo ad cognoscendum  
oia illuſtria magis ma-  
giscq; in aperto ſint.

Bello punico Secudo,  
quo dux Cartaginēſi-  
um Hanibal post mag-  
nitudinē nominis Ro-  
mani Italiae opes ma-  
xime attruerat.

Massinissa rex Numi-  
darū in amicitiam re-  
ceptus a Publio Scipi-  
one(cui poſtea Africa-  
no cognomē ex virtute  
fuit) multa, et precla-  
ra rei militaris facino-  
ra fecerat: ob quæ vi-  
ctis Cartaginēſibus  
et captro Sciphace (cu-  
jus i Africā magnū at-  
q; latum imperiū valu-  
it) populus Romanus  
quascunq; vrbes et a-  
gros manu ceperat re-  
gi dono dedit. Igitur  
amicitia Massinissæ bo-  
na arq; honesta nobis  
pimāſit. Sed imperij vi-  
ta picius finis idē fuit.

## The batayle

Deinde Micipsa filius regnum solus obtinuit Manastabal et Galussa fratribus morbo absumptis. Is Adherbale et Hiempalem ex se genuit: lugurthā q̄ filiū Manastabalis quē Massinīa (q̄ oratus ex cōcubina erat) priuatū reliquerat: eo dem cultū quo liberos suos domi habuit.

Qui vbi primū adoleuit pollēs viribus, decora facie, sed multo maximo ingenio valdus: non se luxui, neq; inertiae corrūpendum dedit, sed vti mos illius est gētis: equitare, faculari cursu cum eequalib⁹ certare, et cū gloria ante omes iret: oibus tamē charus esse: ad hoc pleraq; tempora invenādo agere. Leonem atq; alias feras primus, aut in primitis ferire, plurimū facere: et minimum de se ipse loqui. Quibus rebus Micipsa tametsi i initio lētus fuerat ex stimans virtutem Iugurthę regno suo glorię affiore: tamen postq; hominē adolescentem exacta aitate sua, et pūis libertis, magis, magis i crescere intelligit vehemēter eo nego cō pñotus in animo multa valuebat.

Terrebat eum natura

but at last his lyfe ended / and the welth of his empire decayed also with hym. This kynge departyng left behynde hym thre sonnes: whose names were Micipsa, Manastabal / and Galussa: of whome Micipsa succeeded his father / and alone obtayned the kyngdome: after that this other two brethern Manastabal and Galussa / were departed frome this lyfe by sickenesse. This Micipsa had two sonnes named Adherball & Hiempall. But Manastabal his brother whiche departed (as sayd is) left behynde hym one sonne nat laufully borne/but a bastarde/begotten of his cōcubine: wherefore departyng he left hym orbate without lande or lyuelode. This cōsidering Micipsa suffred hym nat to faute nor decay: but forasmuche as he was his brothers sonne receyued hym into his court / & hym cherysshed in lykewyse as he dyd his owne sonnes/ Adherball and Hiempall. This Jugurth after that he was a lytell growen vp to age: was myghty in strength comely / and fayre of face: but moost of all/excellent of wyt & wylde dome. Nor he gaue nat hym selfe to be corrupt with lust nor in crafty slouthe: but as is the custome & maner of the people of Numidij hymselfe he exercised somtyme in rydyng / somtyme in castyngh the dart & iustyngh / and somtyme in ronnyng & wrestlyng / with his compaynons of lyke age. And nat withstandyng/that in laude and praysye he passed all his perys: yet none enuted hym but he was derely beloued / cherysshed / and lauded of all men. Moreouer he passed moche of his tyme in huntyng of wylde bestes whiche in that lande habounded: he was the first / or one among the first which durst assaile and stryke the Lyon / and other cruell and wylde bestes: he dyde moche: and lytell sayd or bosted of hymselfe. For suche demeanour his uncle Micipsa at first behynnyng was gladde and ioyefull: supposyng that in tyme to come the manly behauour and strength of Jugurth shuld be glory and honour to all his kyngdome. But afterwarde in processe of tyme whan he cōsydred and vnderstode his lyfe approachyng fast to ende his naturall sonnes yong / & vnexpert. And this yong man Jugurth in honour and fauour dayly increasyng more and more he reuolued many thynges in mynde greatly moued with suche solicitude and besynesse. Forthermore he consydred that all men of kynde be naturally inclined to desyre / to rule / and commaunde by lordeshyppe: rather than to be ruled and subiect. And howe man is prone and hedlynge inclined to fulfull the desyres of his mynde dredyng no daungers: nor suspectyng no peryll/ whyle he is erceate by ambition and desyre of lordshyp. Moreouer aduisyng the oportunitie of his owne age / and of the age of

age of his chyldren whiche for yongh were nat able to respyst any power or violence: whiche oportunitie is wont to be nat small confort audacite and courage/ nat onely to holde heres/ but also to meane men and cowardes intending to conspyre agaynst they: princes in hope of pray and promocions. Such consideracions feare soze the mynde of Micipsa belyde these his dredre and dolour was more augmented: whan he behelde the fauour & heres of all his subgettes of the lande of Numandy vterly inclyned to Jugurth: wherfore to put to deth the same Jugurth by any gyle (as his purpose was to do) he drad moost of all: dowtyng hys therof myght succede bytwene hym and his subgettes some insurrection or batayle. Micipsa compassed on euery syde with these difficulties/ was sore troubled in mynde. And whan he sawe that nother by strength nor gyle he myght destroy a man so well beloved of the commens/ (as was Jugurth) at last he deuised an other way to ryd hym: and that without daunger or suspeccion: wherfore Micipsa aduertynge that Jugurth was redy of hande to stryke auercrous and moche desyrrous of honour and laude of chyualry/ he concluced with hymselfe to obiect hym to daunger and perill of warre: and by that meane to assay the fortune of batayle.

**N**owe at the same season the Romans warred agaynst a cite of Hispanye named Numance: unto whiche natre diuers kynges to the commens associate sent unto them socours agaynst the same cite. Amonge whome Micipsa also sent a faire company of horsmen and fotemen: ouer whome he made Jugurth captaine: and sent hym forth with them into Hispanye/ truyng that ther he lightly shuld be ouerthrown and slayne in batayle: other in shewynge his manhood and strengthe/ els by spesnes and cruelle of his ennemyes. But this thyng for tuned moche contrary to his opinion. For Jugurth was of mynde and courage valtaunt and holde/ and of wytte quicke and redy/ so that after he had parceyued the dispolicion/ behavour and maners of Publius Scipio: at that tyme captayne of the romains/ and whan he had consydred also the maners of his ennemyes/ he behaued hymselfe in suche wylle with moch labour/ belynes and cure/ in obeyng his captaine with so good maner & often tymes countryng his ennemyes without drede of perill. In somoch that within short tyme he came to so great fame and worshyppe that unto the romains he was matwynous dere and well beloved/ and of the Numantines drade as deth: and certaynly among the chefyng he was worthy and valtaunt in batayle: and also good of counsell/ of wylsome prugnaunce and circumspect. Which two thynges be moche hard to be in one man both togyder: for wylsome is often wont to

Jugurth.

v.i.

mortalium auida impensis:  
et precepit ad explendam  
animi cupidinem.

Præterea oportunitas suæ  
liberorumq; atatis: quæ  
etiam mediocres viros spe  
prede transuersos agit.  
Adhoc studia Numidarum  
in Jugurtham accensa.  
Ex quibus si talis virūdo  
lis iterfecisset: nequa se-  
ditio: aut bellū oritur/  
arxius erat. His difficul-  
tibus circumuentus:  
vbi videt: neq; per vim:  
neq; per insidias opprimi  
posse hominem tam acce-  
ptū popularibus: q; erat  
Jugurtha manu promptus:  
et appetens gloria militaris:  
statuit eum obiecta  
re periculis, et eo modo  
fortunam tentare.

Igitur bello Numantino  
Micipsa quum populo ro-  
mano equitū: atq; peditū  
auxilia mitteret: ipse rans  
vel ostēdendo virtutē: vel  
hostiū securia: facile eum  
occasurū: prefecit Numi-  
dis: quos in Hispaniam  
mittebat.

Sed ea res lōge aliter, ac  
ratus erat evenerit. Nam  
Jugurtha (vt erat iugio  
atq; acti ingenio) Vbi na-  
turam Publij Scipionis,  
qui tū Romanus imperator  
erat: et mores hostiū co-  
gnouit, multo labore, mul-  
taq; cura, præterea mode-  
stia, me patēdo: sēpe obui-  
am ēdū periculis: in ran-  
tā claritudinē breui pue-  
nerat, vt nostris vehemē-  
ter charus, Numantinis  
maxime terrori esset. At  
fane (quod diffīllimū ē)  
in primis et plōstrengū  
erat: et bonū cōsilie: quo-  
rum alterum ex prouide-

## The batayle

tia timore: alterū ex au-  
datia temeritate in ple-  
rumq; affirre solet.

Igitur imperator omnes  
fere res asperas per Iu-  
gurham agere: in amicis  
habere: magis magisq; eū  
indies amplecti.

Quippe cuius consilium:  
neq; incepsum ullum fru-  
stra erat. Huc accedebat  
munificentia animi et in-  
genij solertia, quibus re-  
bus Iugurtha multos ex  
Romanis sibi familiariter  
amicitia coiunxerat. Ea  
temestate in exercitu no-  
stro fure q; plures nomi-  
atq; nobiles quibus diui-  
tia bono/ atq; honesto/ po-  
ciores erant: factiosi do-  
mi: potentes apud socios  
clari magis quam honesti:  
qui Iugurtha nō medio-  
crem animū pollicitādo  
accendebant: Si Mīcipsa  
rex occidisset: fore vt fo-  
lus imperio Numidię po-  
titetur. In ipso maximā  
virtutem. Romæ omnia  
venalia esse.

Dicitur.

make men a ferde and to dñe de many peryls bycause of prouis-  
dence. But boldnes and audacie causeth men to be rasshe and  
folchardy bycause of hauit courage. But his wylsome directed  
his strength / and his strength was obedient to wylsome.  
Wherfore Scipio the captaine dyd almost euery iecopardous  
and wyghty thyng by hand & counsell of Jugurth: hym coun-  
tyng among his chefe frendes and dayly cherysshed hym more  
a more and no maturayle/ for there was no couzell/noz interpris-  
se begon of Jugurth frustrate or in bayne/but al came to good  
effect. Belyde these gyftes aboue sayd he was curtes of mynde  
lyberall/ and of wyt ryght discrete & prudent: by which gyftes  
he adioyned vnto hym many of þ romains in familiē frende  
shyp. At that same season in the armie of Rome were ryght ma-  
ny newe: and also auncient gentylmen / whiche set more by ri-  
ches than goodnes or honeste. At home in Rome were they  
lowers of dyscorde and debatfull / great in fame amoung the  
frendes of the romains. But more famous by wylshyppe and  
rowme than by honest conuersacion. These kyndled the mynd  
of Jugurth nat a lytell promisyng often tymes and sayeng to  
set his courage on fyze: that if the kyng Mīcipsa discessed the  
tyme shulde come that Jugurth alone shulde enioye the hols  
kyngdomē of Numidy without any partyner. For in hym  
(they sayd) was great vertue/ great manhode/ strength & au-  
dacite with wylsome/ able to gouerne suche a kyngdomē: and  
nothyng was so iniust and false but that myght be iustifyed  
at Rome for gold/ and all thynges were there to be solede by cos-  
uetise of noble men.

Chowe Publius Scipio counselled Jugurth at  
his departyng after the cye of Numance was  
dystroyed. C The thyrd chapter.

**S**ed postquam Numā-  
stia deleta, Publi⁹ Sci-  
piodimittere auxilia,  
et ipse reuerti domum de-  
cruit: donatū / atq; lau-  
datū magnifice pro cōci-  
one Iugurthā i pretoriū  
adduxit: ibiq; secreto mo-  
nuit: vt potius publice / q;  
priuatim amicitia populi  
Romani coleret. Neu-  
aliquibus largiri insue-  
sceret. Periculose a pau-  
cis emi: quod multorum  
eset.

**H**us contynued Jugurth in the romains at-  
my in Hispanye with great fauour of þ romains  
and namely of Scipio the captaine: tyll at last the  
armie of Rome had distroyed the sayd cite of Nu-  
mance. Than Publius Scipio concluded to re-  
tourne agayne to Rome: and to congye and licence suche so-  
courts as were sent vnto hym from other kynges: amoung all  
other he called Jugurth vnto hym: and before the multitude of  
all the army assembled lauded and commended hym magni-  
ficently recytyng his gloriuous acts and manly dedes of chy-  
ualry. And after that worthely and rychely rewarded hym for  
his labours. This done: he conueyed hym into the captains

## of Jugurth.

tent: and there secretly warned hym that he shulde cōtinue and worshyppe the frendshyppe of the people of Rome rather hole togyder and commenly than priuately leanyng to any singuler rulers. Moreouer addyng these monitions: that he shulde nat rather rewarde and be liberall to a fewe priuately: than to a hole cōmente/sayeng that it was a perillous thyng to bye that: of a fewe persons: whiche belongeth vnto many in commen. If he wolde perseuer and contynue in so noble condicions as he had begon: he shulde shortly come to great honour / glori and dignite roiall/more than he wolde desyre. But if he wold procede and labour to ascende ouer hastely/than shuld both he and his riches fall heedlyng to tuyne and decay. After Scipio had sayd these wordes with such lyke: he licensed Jugurth to depart/and sent hym vnto his uncle Micipla agayne into the lande of Numidy with letters direct vnto the same kyng Micipla: of whiche letters the tenure and sentence hereafter ensueth: and was suchē.

**C**The sentence of the letter dyrect from Publius Scipio captaine of the romaine army in Hispayne vnto Micipla kynge of Numidy.

**C**The fourthe chapter.

**I**n b*U*bius Scipio captaine of the romaine army in Hispayne sendeth helth and salutation to Micipla kynge of Numidy frende and felowe of the empire of Rome. The vertue/ strength and noblenes of your newe Jugurth whome ye sent vnto our soours hath ben proued in this warre of Numance/ferre excellent aboue any other warriour of our retyne/which thyng I knowe for certayne is to your great pleasure & gladnes. For his worthy merytes he is right dere and well beloued vnto vs. And we shall deuoyz vs to the best of our power that he may be lyke dere and well beloued of all the seneatours and people of Rome. I am surely ryght toyefull on your behalfe of this your treasoure Jugurth: thauent amytē bytwene you & me: byndeth me to be gladdē of this your comodite. For certaynely lo here haue ye a man of Jugurth worthy to discende of such noble stocke as ye ar and as his grandfather Massinissa was in his dayes: whome he foloweth in all pointes of vertue and magnanimitē.

**C**howe the kyng Micipla adopted Jugurth vnto his sonne.

**C**The fyfte chapter.

Jugurth.

B. ii.

Si permanere vellet si suis artibus: ultra et illi gloriam / et regnum venturus: Sin properantius pergesret: suam pecuniam et ipsam precipitem casurus. Sic locutus: cum literis eum (quas Micipla reddebat) dimisit. Earum sententia hac erat.

**I**ugurthae tui in bello Numantino longe maxima virtus fuit.

Quam rem tibi certe gaudio esse scio. Nobis obmerita sua charus est: ut idem senatus et populo Romano sit: summa ope nitemur.

Tibi quidem proxima amicitia gratulor. En habes vitum dignum te atque aucto suo Massinissa.

## The batayle

**I**gitur rex vbi ea quae  
fama accepérat: ex lit-  
teris imperatoris esse  
ita cognovit: tum virtus  
re, tum gratia viri permo-  
tus flexit animum suum.

Et Jugurtham beneficijs  
vincere aggressus est.

Statimq; eum adoptauit:  
et testamento pariter cū  
filijs heredem instituit.

Sed ipse paucos post an-  
nos morbo atq; etate cō-  
factus: cum sibi finem vi-  
te adesse intelligeret: co-  
ram amicis et cognatis:  
itemq; Adherbale et His-  
empsale filijs dicitur hu-  
susmodi verba cum Iu-  
gurtha habuisse.

**P**atri ego Jugurtha  
te amilio patre: sine  
spe: sine opibus: in  
meum regnū suscepi: ex-  
istimans non minus me  
tibi: q̄ liberis (si genu-  
issem) ob beneficia chas-  
rum fore.

Neque ares falsum me ha-  
bit. Nam vt alia magna  
et egregia facta omittā-

**W**th these letters of Scipio Jugurth retour-  
ned into Numyd y unto his uncle Micipla:  
where he was worthely & loyfully receyued of  
the cōmentie. But after that the kyng Micipla  
understode by these letters of commendacion of  
the captaine Scipio: that the valiaut and noble actes of Ju-  
gurth were trewe: which longe before he had harde by report  
of the commen fame: than what soz the nobles of Jugurthe &  
fauour bothe of his dedes and commendacion of Scipio he  
moued his mynde chaunged from his foreshayd purpose and  
nat forther intended to oppresse Jugurth by malice noz enuy.  
But concluded to attempt to ouercome hym with benefites &  
kyndnesse: to thentent that he so ouercome shuld: nat in tyme  
to come synde in his hert for pyte to indomage hym noz his  
heyyes. And soone after this purpose the same Micipla ado-  
pted Jugurth unto his sonne: and furthermore decreed and  
ordayned in his testament that Jugurth shulde be one of his  
heyyes: and partener in possession of his kyngdome togyder  
with his two naturall sonnes / Adherball and Hiempshall.  
But a fewe yeres after this ordinaunce Micipla what by age/  
what by sykenesse: drewe nere unto his ende of lyfe and was  
consumed by age & dysease: wherfore consideryng his deth so  
fast approaching it is sayd that he called Jugurth before hym  
and than before many of his frendes and kynsmen: also in pre-  
sence of his two naturall sonnes Adherball and Hiempshall/  
he had to the same Jugurth suche wordes as herafter insue  
and folowe.

**C**The exhortacion whiche the kynge Micipla a-  
lytell before his deth had to Jugurth.

**C**The sixt chapter.



**I**dere sonne Jugurthe / I knowe it is  
nat out of your remembraunce: howe after  
that ye had lost your father my brother / I  
charitably & louyngly receyued you yonge  
& of tender age into my kyngdome: what  
cyme ye were without riches / without con-  
fort: and without any hope of confort or  
ryches: but very lykely to haue ben caste away. This dyde I /  
thynkyng that for thele my benefites and kyndnesse I shulde  
be unto you nat lesse intierly beloued than of myne owne na-  
turall chyldyn with my body begotten. Noz certainly this  
my hath nat dyscreyued me. For why to ouerpasse your other

great / magnificent and excellent dedes of you valiantly done before: specially now last of all comyng from the warre of Numance ye greatly adourned & inhaunced to honoure and glori/bothe of myne owne persone & this my kyngdome. And where as the remains in foze tymes were frendes vnto vs: by your vertue and manly actes ye haue establiſhed that amyte: and of frendes made them moche more frendes. So that in Hispayne the name & glori/bothe of our hous holde by your manhode is renouate and renewed. Thus finelly: ye haue ouercome the enuy of your plwyllers onely by your glorious actes and valiaut interp̄sles: whiche is one of the moost hardest thynges to be done amonge mankynde and of moost difficultie. Wherfoze nowe my sonne Jugurth: sythe it is so: that nature hath nere concluded the ende of my lyfe: I admo nest charge and exhort you by the fayth of your right hand: and by the fayth and fidelite whiche ye owe to this my kyng dome I obtest and requyrc you that ye loue/mentayne and cheryſſe theſe my two sonnes Adherball & Hiempsall: which of kynted be nere to you / and by my benefite and kyndnes are bretherne vnto you. Forthermore I exhort you that ye couete nat leferte and more pleasure to acquaynt and cōtoyne vnto you forayns or straungers/rather than to retayne ſuche as be loyned to you by naturall blode & kynted. For neyther is a great armē of men nor habundance of treaſours: þ ch: fe locours or defence of a kyngdome: but moche rather truſty and faythfull frendes: whome a man can neyther compelle by force of armes: nor yet bye with golde nor ſyluer to paſſeuſ in ſtedfast amyte: but they be optayned & kept by kyndneſſe/good dedes/fidelite and faythfulneſſe. But among all frendes: who can be moche frendly and ſtedfast in amyte than brother to brother. Certaynly none ought to be moche louyng of naturall inclinacion. Or what ſtrānger ſhal ye fynd: faythfull and truſty to you: if ye ſhewe your ſelſe enemys to your owne kynſmen. For lothe if ye cōtynue togyder honest/good and louyngē in agreeable concorde bytwene yourſelſe: thanne this kyngdome which I committe and gye vnto you ſhall continue ſure and ſtedfast: as it is nowe. But contrarely if ye be yll and diſagreynge among your ſelſe/ye ſhall in ſhort ſeaſon make it ryght poore/ſeble and incertayne. For by loue/peace and concorde: ſmall ryches/ ſmall lordshyppes/and ge nerally all ſmall thynges increase and multiplie: by diſcorde the grettest thynges of the worlde decay and fall vterly to tuyne. But you my ſonne Jugurthe bycause ye paſſe theſe myne other two naturall ſorſies in age and wylde/therfore it ſemeth you ſo moche moze than them: to make ſuchye wyſe Jugurth.

B. iii.

nouissime tu rediens Numancia meq; regnumq; meum gloria decorasti: tuaq; virtute Romanos ex amicis amicillimos fecisti.

In Hispania nomē familiā noſtre renouatum eſt: postremo (quod diſſicilium inter mortales eſt) gloria inuidiam viciſti.

Nune quoniam mihi na tura finem vitę facit: per hanc dexteram: per regni fidem moneo: otesi orga te: vi hos qui genete tibi propinquū beneficio meo fratres ſunt: charos habeas.

Neu malis alienos adiū gere: q̄ ſanguine coniunctos retinere.

Non exercitus / neq; theſ fauri presidia regni ſūt. Verum amici, quos neq; armis cogere, neq; auto parare queas: officio et ſi de pariuntur.

Quis autem amicitior q̄ frater fratri? Aut quem alienum fidam inuenies: si tuis hostis fueris?

Egidē ego vobis regnū trado firmum/ſi boni eritis: ſin mali: imbecillum.

Nam cōcordia paruꝝ res crescunt, diſcordia maxi me dilabuntur.

Cæterum Jugurtha ante hos te (quia ætate et sapi entia prior es) ne aliter quideueniat prouidere decet.

## The batayle

Nam in omni certamine  
qui opulentior est: etiam  
si accipit iniuriam tamē  
(quia plus potest) facere  
videtur.

Vos autem Adherbal et  
Hiempsal colite et obser-  
uate hunc talem virum:  
imitamini virtutem: et  
enitemini: ne ego melio-  
res liberos sumfisse vi-  
dear: q̄ genuille.

Ad ea Jugurtha tametsi  
regem facta locutum intel-  
ligebat: et ipse longe ali-  
ter in animo agitabat, ta-  
men pro tempore beni-  
gne respondit.

Micipsa paucis post dies  
bus moritur.

Postq̄ illi regio more ius-  
ta magnifice fecerāt: re-  
guli in vnum conueniūt:  
vt inter se de cūctis nego-  
tijs disceptarent.

Sed Hiempsal, qui mini-  
mus ex illis erat: natura  
ferox: etiam ante a igno-  
bilitatem Jugurthæ: quia  
materno genere impa-  
terat: despiciens: dextera  
Adherbalē assedit, ne me-  
di ex tribus (quod apud  
Numidas honoris ducit)  
Jugurtha foret,

provision bothe for your selfe and for them also that uothyng  
happen otherwyse than well. For in euery stryffe and debate:  
howe be it he whiche is myghtier and rycher often suffreth  
iniury. Neuerthelesse it semeth more that he dothe wronge  
thanне suffreth: bycause that he is more of power and myght  
thanне his feble aduersary. But ye my dere sonnes Adher-  
ball and Hiempshall se that ye worshyppe and loue this Ju-  
gurth your worthy uncle. And bewarre that ye nat offend  
nor dysplease hym: but folow his vertue & manly behauour.  
And do your deuoir to the best of your power after his exam-  
ple behauynge your selfe so discretely and so wyllyng that it  
be nat hereafter reported by me/that I haue takenne vnto me  
by adoption/better chyldren thanne I haue begotten. Thus  
concluded the kyng Micipsa his wordes. Howbeit Jugurth  
well perceyued the kynges wordes: but fayned and spoken  
agaynst his hert: if any other remedie myght haue ben fōude:  
neuertheles he answered benygnyly for the tymē/ all if he  
thought and reuoluued in his mynde moche otherwyse/and  
contrary to his humble and mylde answeare.

**C**howe the kyng Micipsa departed from lyfe,  
and of the first cause of dissencion and discorde  
betwene Jugurth/Adherball & Hiempshall.

**C**Chapter. vii.

**I**n At longe after the kyng Micipsa  
decessed whose deathe was dolourous and  
soze bewayled of all his subgettis: but most  
of all to his naturallsonnes it was to be la-  
mēted: and nat without great cause as the  
processe of this hystorie shall afterwarde  
declare. But after the kyng's funerall ex-  
quies were magnificently ended as apertayned to his state  
royall. The thre princes that is to say Adherball/Hiempshall/  
and Jugurth anone assembled to the intent to commen and  
treat of busynesses of the royalme/cōcernyngē partition and  
separation of the same: and all other thynges conuenient.  
But whan they shulde sytte and take their places in order:  
Hiempshall yongest of the thre was somwhat fyers of nature/  
and disposed to statelynesse. And in mynde longe before this  
tyme he dysdayned the ignobilite of Jugurth/for as moche as  
he was vnlke vnto them of byrth towchynge his mothers  
syde / and a bastarde borne: as is sayd before. Wherfore he  
dysdayned that the same Jugurth shulde haue the place of  
moost honoure among them/ whiche were naturallsonnes of

## of Jugurth.

a kyng / and also lawfully borne: and so in contempt of Jugurth he set hym selfe downe on the ryght hande of his brother Idherball: to thyntent that Jugurthe shulde nat sylt in the myddes bytwene them: whiche rowme the Numydysens count of most honout. And afterwarde howbeit his brother Idherbal requyzed hym ofte to gyue place to Jugurth bycause of his age: yet bennethes coude he with moche Payne induce hym thereto: but at laste satygate by requestes of his brother and of other noble men of the realme: he chaunged his place and set hym vpon the other syde with countenaunce declaryng his mynde nat cōtent. And thus at laste satte Jugurth for his age in the myddes bytwene them bothe as in place of moost honout. Whanne the thre princes were thus sette and had communed of many thynges concerningye the admynistracion of the kyngdome: amonge many and dyuers other thynges Jugurth layd / that all the statutes and ordynaunces whiche the kyng Micipsa hadde made syueres before his deth / ought of congruence to be adnulled as of none effecte. For in that season (assayde he) his wyt what for age / what for lyckenesse was feble / dull and of small valoure. And therfore suche thynges as he had in that space enacted were done without wylde or reason.

Whanne Hiempshall herde Jugurth thus speke: he answered / sayenge that it pleased hym ryght well that it shulde so be done. For within the same thre yeres (sayd he) our fathur Micipsa hath adopted you to his sonne / and in his testamēt odayned you to be partinet of his kyngdome: whiche was the wort and most vnadvised dede that ever he dyd yonge or olde. Wherefore Jugurth accordyng to your owne ordynaunce this must fyft of all be adnulled and broken / whiche done / my brother and I shall nat greatly contende for the remenant. These wordes of Hiempshall peascid the hert of Jugurth more profoundely thanne any man there thought or suspected. Wherfore from that tyme forwarde: what for was the of these wordes / and for dñe de of losse of his porcion of the kyngdome / his mynde was in great trouble and anguyllshe. Insomuche that from thens forthe: he went aboute / ymagyned / or dayned / and onely reuoluued in his mynde: by what gyle or treason Hiempshall myght be caught in his daunger. But whanne his purpose proceded but slowly forwarde / comlydynge that the frowarde desyre and vngrefrenable appetite of his mynde coude nat be mytigated nor pacified: he concluded to bryng his enteprise to effect by any maner meanes outher by p̄cuy treason and gyle: or els by euydent and open violence / force of armes. But to retourne agayn where I left.

Deinde tamen vt ætati  
cōcederet / fatigatus a fra  
tre: vix in partem alterā  
traductus est.

Ibi cum multa de admis  
trando imperio dissere  
rēt: Jugurtha inter alias  
res ait: oportere quiuen  
nijs cōsulta et decreta oia  
rescindi.

Nam per ea tempora cō  
secutum annis Micipsam  
parum animo valuisse.

Tum Hiāpal placere si  
bi respondit: nam ipsum  
illum his tribus proximis  
annis adoptione in  
regnum peruenisse.

Quod verbum in pectus  
Jugurtha altius q̄ quisq;  
ratus erat descendit.

Itaq; ex eo tempore irā /  
et metu anxius: moliti /  
parare / atq; ea modo i a  
nimō habere: quibus Hi  
empsal per dolum capere  
tur. Que vbi tardi proce  
dūt: neq; lenitut animus  
ferox: statuit quouis mo  
do inceptum perficere.

Primo cōuentus: quem ab

## The batayle

regulis factum supra me-  
moriai propter dissensio-  
nem placuit diuidi the-  
sauros. finesq; imperij sin-  
gulis cōstitui. Itaq; tem-  
pus ad vtrā p̄tem discer-  
nitur sed maturius ad pe-  
cuniā distribuendam.

In this first assemble of the thre prynces of whiche I speake before: it pleased them all that the treasours of kyng Miciplia shulde be deuyded among them bycause of this dissencion. And also that the marches and boundes of eche of theyr dominions severally shulde be assigned to eche of them his possession. Wherfore the tyme was apoynted and prefirred whanne bothe shulde be done: but the tyme to departe the treasoures was sonner assigned than to deuyde and limite the boundes of theyr dominions. This apoyntement made: the prynces departed company: the mynde of Jugurth nat a lytell inquested for the sayde checke of Hiempshall: for whiche cause he awayted his tyme to reuenge hym.

## Chow Jugurth by treason murdred Hiempall the yonger sonne of kynge Miciplia.

### The eyght chapter.

**R**eguli interea in lo-  
ca propinqua the-  
sauris ali⁹ alio cō-  
cessere. Sed Hiempall in  
oppido Thirmida forte-  
 eius domo vtebatur: qui  
proxim⁹ lictor Jugurthē  
charus acceptusq; ei sem-  
per fuerat. Quem ille cas-  
su ministrum oblatū pro-  
missis onerat impellitq;  
vti tanq; suam visens do-  
num eat: portarū claves  
adulterinas paret.

Nam vere claves ad Hi-  
empalem referebantur.  
Caterum / vbi res postula-  
ret seipsum cum magna  
manu venturum.

Numida mandata breui  
confecit.



**W**han the thre prynces were depar-  
ted in sonder: as I haue sayde before: they  
sotourned in sondry places: and that nere  
to the towre where the treasours lay. Hiem-  
psall dwele hym to a towne named Thir-  
myda nat ferre distant. In whiche towne  
he had a dwellynge place: than as happe-  
ned in the same towne was a man of the garde longyng to  
Jugurth of his lordē ryght derely bcloued / and v̄ith hym  
greatly in fauoure. This seruaunt of Jugurth was moche  
conuersaunt and familiyer in the house of Hiempall / whan  
Jugurth by chaunce remembred this oportunitie to his mynd  
cheuous purpose: he called secretly vnto hym his sayde ser-  
uaunt. And after many wordes spoken to serche his mynde: at  
last by promesse of large rewardes he induced hym to cosent  
to go as if it were to visite the house of Hiempall: as he had  
often done before tyme: and by some meanes & craft to coun-  
terfayte the kayes of the gates and byngyng them vnto hym.  
For the ryght kayes: after the gates were locked: nyghly wes-  
te deluyerd vnto Hiempall hym selfe: so myght they nat be  
vnmysled the space of a nyght. Whan Jugurth had induced  
th: Numidian to cosent to this dede: he pnyssed hymselfe w-  
in shorte tyme after to come to the sayd lodgyng of Hiempall  
what tyme & case shulde requyre: with great power of armed  
men. The Numidian in shorte tyme perfourmed the com-  
maundement of Jugurth / insomoche that he brought vnto  
hym the counterfayted kayes: as he had apoynted. Jugurth

hereof was gladde in mynde: and anone prepared secretly a great company of armed men: whome he commaunded to bringe vnto hym the heed of Hiempsall trenched from the boþ: and in executyng of this dede he commaunded them all to be ruled by the Numidyan whiche had countefayted the keys. This done the sayd Numidyan conuayed these armed men preuyly by nyght into the house of Hiempsall / lyke as he was infoutmed by Jugurth. Whan this treatoure satellyte was entred with his company þ had broken into the inwarde edifices: diuers of them serched for the prince Hiempsall: som murthered his seruauntes as they lay slepyng in theyr beddys suspectyng no suche treason: some other a wakened with the dynne stert vp and mette theyr ennemys defendynge themselue but all in bayne: for they had no leyser to arme themselfe. And therfore were they slayne anone unarmed of men armed & apointed to myschefe: whan the treatours had longe sought Hiempsall and myght nat fynde hym: than serched they more nerely euery hyd cozner / and secret close places they brast open: all was full of dynne mengled with noysse and clamour: So moche they sought and so nerely: that at last they souide out Hiempsall / hyd in the cotage of a pooze seruynge woman to whiche place he had fled at begynnyng of this affray: as a man astonyed for drede and ignorant of the place. Anone as the Numidyans had souide hym they slew hym without any mercy. And as they were commaunded cutte of his heed and broughte the same to Jugurth: but shortly after: the fame of this cruell and tyrannous dede was diuulgat: & ouer spred all the landes of Afrike: Adherball and all they whiche were vnder subiection of Micepla whyle he lyued: were soze troubled & abashed with fere for this tyrannous cructie of Jugurth. The Numidyans anone deuyded themselves into two parties. The moost part dwewe and leaned to Adherball: but such as were moost manly and best to batayle dwewe them to the other partie: and leaned to Jugurth. wherfore he made redy as great an armee as he myght ioyninge vnto hym and bryngyng vnder his subiection the townes & cities of Numidya: some by violence and some other by theyr owne voluntary wyll. In somoach that finally he kept vnder his subiection and bondage the hole lande of Numidya. But nat withstandyng that Adherbal had sent embassadours to Rome: to certify the senatours of þ dede of his brother how cowardly he was murthered & also to informe them of his owne miserable fortune & in what case he was: neuȝtthelesse he made hymselfe redy to fyght wȝ Jugurth as he whiche had trust & confidence in multitude of his sowdyours assembled redy to batayle.

Atq; (vti doctus erat) nos eti Jugurtha milites introducit. Qui postq; in edes irrupere: diuersi res gem querebant: dormientes alios: alios occurserat: interfecere,

Scrutari loca abdita: clausa affrigere: strepitum et tumultu oia miscere.

Quum interi Hiempal reperitur occultans se in tugurio mulieris ancille: quo in initio pauidus: et loci ignarus pfugerat. Numide caput eius ( vti iussi erant ) referunt. Cæterū fama tanti facinoris per omnem Aphticā breui deuulgatur. Adherbalē omnesq; qui sub imperio Miceplæ fuerat/ meus inuadit. In duas partes Numide discedunt. Plures Adherbalem sequuntur: Sed illum alterum bello meliores. Igitur Jugurtha quā maximas potest copias parat: vrbes partim vi: alias voluntate: impio suo adiungere: Omni Numidae imperare. Adherbal ( tametsi legatos Romam miserat: qui senatum docerent de cede fratribus: et fortunis suis ) tamen fretus multitudine militum parat armis contendere.

## The batayle

Chowe Jugurth ouercame Adherball in batayll  
and putte hym to flyght: howe Adherball fledde  
to Rome to cōplayne to the senatours: and howe  
Jugurthe accloyed with rewardes many of the  
rulers of Rome: by whose fauour his cruelte was  
defended.

C The .ix. chapter.

Sed vbi res ad certa-  
men venit: victus ex  
prelio profugit i pro-  
uinciam.

Ac dehinc Romam con-  
tendit.

Tum Iugurtha peractis  
consilijs postq̄ omni Nu-  
midia pociebatur: i ocio  
facinus suum i animo re-  
putas: timere populū ro-  
manū: neq; aduersus irā  
eius usq; nisi in auaricia  
nobilitatis: et pecunia  
sua spem habere.

Itaq; paucis diebus post/  
cū auro et argēto multo  
Romam legatos mittit:  
quibus precepit primum  
vti veteres amicos mune-  
ribus repleant: deinde no-  
uos exquirant. Postremo  
quæcumq; possint largien-  
do ne cunctentur.

Sed vbi legati Romam  
venere: et ex præcepto re-  
gis hospitib; alijsq; quo  
rū ea tempestate in sena-  
tu authoritas pollebat:  
magna munera misere:



W had Jugurth assembled his hoost  
redy vnto batayle: nat lyke in multitude  
to the company of Adherbal: but as I sayd  
before moche bolder better expert & eret,  
cised in warre. On the other partie Adher-  
ball had his people redy apointed and both  
the armes approached togyder. But whan  
they soyned batayle / and whan it came to hycketyng: that  
the matter must be tryed with strokes. Anone Adherball was  
banquesshed: and to sauе his lyfe fledde from the batayle into  
a prouince marchynge on the lande of Numidye: and frome  
thens with all hast spedde hym vnto Rome to complayne his  
miserable fortune/ and to requyre socours / as I shall after-  
ward declare. But than Jugurth whan he had all the lande  
of Numidye at his pleasure/ counselled with his frendes of  
many thynges. At conclusion: whan he consydred by hymselfe  
that he had slayne Hiempsall and chased Adherball out of his  
kyngdome: whan he was ydle and at rest: he often secretly re-  
uouled in mynde his owne crueltie: soze d;edyng what pu-  
nyslhem ent the Romans wolde ordayne agaynst the same.  
Nor agaynst the ire and displeasure of the Romans had he  
none other hope nor confort sauē in the couetyse of the noble  
men of Rome/ and in thabundance of his treasours: wher-  
with he trusted to corrupte the rulers of Rome to be fauo-  
table to hym. This consydred within fewe dayes  
after he sent to Rome embassadours with moche golde and  
siluer to whome he gaue in commaundement: that first of all  
they shulde satisfy his olde frendes with rewardes and money/  
and than to spare no gyftes to get vnto hym mo new frendes.  
And brefely that they shulde nat spare no tary to procure vnto  
hym fauourers and mainterners of his part: and all thynges  
for his auantage by gyftes and promyses. But after these  
embassadours were come to Rome: according to the cōmaun-  
dement of theyz kyng: they gaue and sent to his acquayntaunce  
and frendes and to suche as amonge the senatours: at that  
tyme had moost authozite: large and great rewardes,

In somoche that anone among them was so great a chaunge: that the matuelous enuy/hatred and euyl wyll: whiche they had agaynst Jugurthe was all chaunged into fauour and grace amonge the noble men. Of whome some were so induced by gyftes receyued: and some other by hope of brybes in tyme to come: that they went about among the senatours from one to one labouryng & intretynge that at that season nothyng shulde be extremely nor greuously determined agaynst Jugurth. Thus after the embassadours of Jugurth had cōfidence and trust ynough in theyz cause they laboured to haue a day apointed to apere in court. The day of apparence was graunted as well to them as to Adherball: to Adherball as playntife: and to the embassadours as defendantes for Jugurth: whan the day assigned was come bothe the parties appered in court before the senatours / than after audience graunted / Adherball began to speke vnder forme folowyng for complaint and declaration of his iniuries and oppression.

**C**here insueth the oracyon of Adherball: deuised in forme deliberatiue: in whiche he exhorteth the senatours to cōmaunde socours & ayde to be assygned vnto hym / prouynge the same to be profitabile/honest and easly to the Romains to do: profitabile: that he myght cōtynue a frende vnto the empire of Rome: honest: for his father & grandfather had so deserued: easly to be done: for the Romains at that tyme had none other warre els wherē.

**C**The. x. chapter.



Dost dyscrete chosen fathers and noble senatours: Micipsa my father at houre of his deth cōmaūded me that I shulde hynke nought els of the lande of Numidē to apercayne to me: saue onely the rule and admistration of the same: affirmynge that the title of possession and emprise of the same belonged to you & to the people of Rome. Moreouer he gaue me in commaundement to do my deuoyz: to be vnto you servable aboue all thynges: both in place and in warre. And that I shulde count you vnto me in place of kyndmen: and nerest frendes of alyaunce. Sayenge that if I so dyd: than by your amite and frendestyppe I shulde fynde socours / ryches / and defence of the kyngdome of Numidē / and of me and myne

Tanta commutatio in- cessit: vt ex maxima iniuria et maluolētia in gratiam et fauorem nobilitatis Jugurtha veniret. Quorū pars spe / alijs pre- mio inducti: singlos ex se- natu ambiendo niteban- tur: ne grauij in eum con- suleretur. Igitur vbi legati fatis confidunt: die cōstituto: senatus vtrisq; datur.

Tum Adherbalem hoc modo locutum accepimus.

**P**Atres conscripti Mis- cipsa patet eneas mo- triens p[ro]aceps: ut res- gni Numidiae tantūmo- do procurationem existi- marem neam: Ceterum ius et imperium eius pes- nes vos esse populumq[ue] romanum: simul eniteret vobis domi militiæq[ue] q[ui] maximo vsui esse: vos mis- hi cognatorū et affinium loco duceret. Si ea secūs in vestra amicitia exerci- tum / diuitias / munimen- ta regni me habiturum,

## The batayle

Quæ precepta patris cū agitarem: Jugurtha homo oīum: quos terra sustinet: sceleratissimū usq; cōtempo vestro imperio. Massinissa me nepotem: stirpe socium atq; amicū populi romani: regno fortunisq; omnibus expulit. Atq; ego patres cōscripti (quoniam eo miseriatur vetus eram) vellem potius ob mea q; ob maiorū beneficia meorum: posse me auxilium a vobis petere: ac maxima debet mihi beneficia a populo romano: quibus utinam non egrem. Sed si ea desiderāda erāt: vti debit is yterer.

Sed quoniam parū tuta p seip; à probitas est: neq; mihi in manu fuit: qualis foret Jugurtha: ad vos cōfugi patres cōscripti: qui bus (quod mihi miserrimum est) cogor prius one ri p; vsum esse. Cæteri reges aut bello vi eti in amicitiam recepti sunt: aut in suis dubijs rebus societatem vestram appetuerunt.

Familia nostra cū populo romano bello Carthaginē amicitiam instituit. Quo tempore: magis fides eius q; fortuna petenda erat.

Quorum progeniem vos patres conscripti nolite pati me nepotem Massinissa frustra auxilium petere. Sed si ad impetrandum nihil cause haberein præter

In all tymes of nede: whiche preceptis of my father: whyle I kest in mynde to obserue: sodaynly Jugurth the moost cruell & cur-  
sed of all men whome the grounde susteyneth / dyspisyng your empyre: hath dysuen me from your kyngdome & from all my other goodes of fortune: nothyng regardyng that I am neu-  
ewo of Massinissa and by myne aunctery a felowe and frende  
of the empyre and people of Rome. But certaynly worthy and  
chosen fathers: syth I am come to that misery that necessite cō-  
strayneth me to desyre your ayde and socours: I wolde moch  
rather that I myght call for your helpe: for myne owne merites  
agaynst you done: than for the merites of my foafathers:  
and that by luche meanes of myne owne deseruyng / your be-  
nefices and socours were due vnto me / which wolde god that  
I nedid nat at all: but if this your socours myght so of you be  
desyred by my merites & deseruyng: than shulde I call boldly  
to you: and vse your socours of duety as myne aunctery haue  
done in tymes passed. But nowe syth it is so / that honest  
lyfe and innocence: in this world: syndeth lytell surenesse by  
themselfe without protection of some other. Moreouer syth it  
was nat in my power to mitigate noz to withstande this ty-  
rannous injury of Jugurth. Therfore chosen fathers I am  
nowe fled vnto you as to my chefe refuge / coarted to necessitie  
to requyre your socours and cōstrayned to put you to besynes  
& charge: before I haue done any pleasure or profet vnto you:  
whiche thyng greued me moost of all / and is one of my grettest  
miseries. Ryght worthy senatours other kynges haue ben res-  
cued into yo<sup>r</sup> frenshyppe & fauour / after ye haue ouercome  
them in batayle / or els perceyuyng themselfe in danger and in  
doubtfull chautes of fortune: they haue couertyed and desyred  
your felowshyppe and fauour / rather for theyz owne wele than  
for yours. But moche contrarly: our foafathers and rote of  
our lynage Massinissa confederated hymselfe with the people  
of Rome in the seconde batayle of Carthage: what tyme was  
more faythfulnes to be trusted in them & theyz good wyl / than  
of welth or riches to be optayned of the romains / beyng at  
that tyme assayled with warre on every syde: theyz riches and  
treasours consumed by often batayles. Thus it is euident that  
our aunctery confederat nat themselfe to your felowshyp for  
theyz owne defensio: in hope of riches: in hope of dominion: noz  
for any other priuate profet / but onely for fauour & loue whiche  
they had vnto your empyre. Wherfore noble senatours suffre  
nat the progeny and braunches of this stocke to be distroyed.  
Suffre nat me whiche am neuewe of your trusty frende Mas-  
sinissa to aske of you helpe and socours in bayne. But prudēt  
fathers: if it were so that I had none other cause to demaunde  
socours of

Socours of you sauе onely this miserable fortune wherwith  
 I am oppresed: that I whiche was lately a kyng by lineall  
 dyscent: myghty of auncettry: excellent and clere of fame: ha-  
 bundant in riches and of men of armes / and now dysformed  
 by mysterable calamite / poore and nedye / so that I am con-  
 strayned to seke helpe & socours of other men: if I had none  
 other mater wherof to complayne sauе this miserable fortu-  
 ne onely. Neuerthelesse it longeth & is conuenient to the ma-  
 gesty of the people of Rome / to prohibite & to withstande ins-  
 ury. And nat to suffre þ kyngdome or dominion of any man  
 to rysle and increase by falshode & myschewous tyȝannye. And  
 the ryght heyses agaynst ryght agaynst iustice / and agaynst  
 reason / to be excluded from theyȝ true heritage. But verely  
 I am excluded and cast forþe of that countrey / whiche the ro-  
 mayns in tyme passed gaue unto my foȝfathers: out of the  
 whiche countrey my fathet & grandfather accompanied with  
 your armys and helpe: haue chased þ kyng Siphar / and also  
 the Cartaginences / bothe moost violent enmyes to the em-  
 pyre of Rome. Your benefites be spoyled fro me: In this myn  
 iury be ye dispysed. Wo is me miserabile exultate: Alas my  
 vere fader Micipla / ar your gode dedes & kyndnes anenst  
 Jugurth come to this poynþ and cōclusion: that he before all  
 other shuld namely be dystroyer of your lynage & chyldyn:  
 whome ye haue madelowe in your owne losies: & also par-  
 tyner of yoȝ kyngdome: alas: than shal our stocke & houshold  
 neruer be quyer. Shall we alway betolled & turched in effus-  
 sion of blode / in batayle / in erple & in chasyng fro our countrey.  
 Whyle the Cartaginences raygued in prosperite / we suf-  
 fered and that paciently / nat budefuered all cruelte & vexacion  
 for them were our enemis on euery syde of vs: our frendes  
 in whome we shuld haue founde socour at tyme of nede were  
 sette disioyned & separate from vs. Thus all our hope: all  
 our trust was in our strength & armour. But nowe after that  
 pestilent dysstruction of the Cartaginences is chased & casten  
 out of Africke we continued a tyme ioyfull & quyer: passyng  
 our lyfe in peace and traquilite / for why we had no enmy:  
 except paradyture for any iury done agaynst you ye wold  
 commisse vs to take your enmy for ours also / as reason and  
 ryght requyred. But nowe sodainly & vnwarely to vs: this  
 Jugurth eralyng hymselfe by his intollerable audacie / by  
 cruelte & prude hath first slayne my brother & his owne nece  
 kynsmam Hemptall: & in augmentyng his myschefe hath  
 usurped to hym as in pray my brothers part & portion of the  
 kyngdome of Numydye / and after: seyng that he myght nat  
 take me lyke maner of trayne as he had done my brother/

Jugurth.

C. 6.

preter miserandam fortu-  
 nam q[uo]d paulo ate ego rex  
 genere, fama, atq[ue] copijs  
 potens: nunc deformatus  
 erumni: inops alienas os-  
 pes expecto. Tamen erat  
 magestatis populi romani  
 prohibere iniuriā neq[ue]  
 pati cuiusq[ue] regnum p[er]  
 scelus crescere.

Versu ego his finibus eius  
 c[on]clusus sum: quos maiorib[us]  
 meis populus romanus de-  
 dit: vnde pater et auus  
 meus una vobiscum ex-  
 pulere Siphacem et Car-  
 thaginienses. veltra bene-  
 ficia mihi erpta sunt et pa-  
 tres conscripti in mea ins-  
 iuria despecti estis. Heu  
 me miserū. Huccine Mi-  
 cipsa pater beneficiaria  
 euasere. Vt quem tu pa-  
 rem cum liberis uis, re-  
 gniq[ue] participant secisti:  
 is potissimum stupris tue  
 extictor sit. Nunq[ue] ne et-  
 go familia nostra quieta  
 erit? Semper ne i sangui-  
 ne, ferro, fuga versabi-  
 mur? Dum Cartaginensi-  
 ses incolumes fuere iure  
 omnia seuia patiebamur  
 hostes a latere. Vos ami-  
 ci procul. Sed omnis in  
 armis. Postq[ue] illa pestis ex  
 Africca electa est: leti pa-  
 cem agitabamus: quippe  
 quibus nullus hostis erat  
 nisi illi forte quem vos  
 iussissetis. Ecce autem ex  
 improviso: lugurtha in-  
 tolleranda audacia, sceler-  
 at, atq[ue] superbia sese esse  
 rens: iurat meo atq[ue] eos  
 dem propinquuo suo inter-  
 secto primum regnum eius  
 sceleris sui predam fecit,

## The batayle

Post vbi in eisdem dolis  
me nequierit capere: ni-  
hil minus q̄ vim aut bel-  
lum expectarem in impe-  
rio vestro (sicut videtis)  
extorrem patria domo i-  
opeum et cooperatu mife-  
riis effect: vt vbius tu-  
ti q̄ in meo regno essem.  
Ego sic existimabam pa-  
tres conscripti vti predi-  
cantem audiuerā patrem  
meū qui diligenter cole-  
cos multū laborem susci-  
pere, ceterū ex omnibus  
maxime tutos esse.  
Quod in familia n̄a fuit  
præstitū, vti in omnibus  
bellis adesset vobis. Nos  
vti per ocium tuti simus  
in manu vestra est.

Patres conscripti pater  
nos duos fratres reliquit.  
Gerrum Jugurthā bene-  
ficijs suis ratus est cons-  
tundum nobis fore.

Alter eorum necatus est,  
alter ei ipse ego manus  
impia vix effugi.

Quid agam: aut quo po-  
tissimū infelix accedam?  
Generis oia presidia ex-  
tingua sunt. Pater vti ne-  
cesserat naturg cōcessit.

Fratri quem minime de-  
cuit propinquus per sce-  
lus vitameripuit affines,  
amicos ceterosq; meos  
propinquos aliū alia cla-  
de oppreslit.

what tyme I doubted nothyng leſſe than any violence or ba-  
tayle in the kyngdome whiche I holde of you he hath chasēd  
me (as ye may se) out of your kyngdome / and hath made me  
as an abiect outlawe: chasēd from my countrey: and dwyng  
place / oppressed with pouerty / & laded with misryes. In so  
moche that I may be in moze suerty & sauve garde in any place  
of the w̄lde / than in my ownen ayfe countrey & kyngdome /  
whiche I holde of you. Fosothe worthy senatours: I haue  
euer thought in lyke maner as I haue oftentymes herde my  
father Micipla openly report with sadness: sayeng that they  
which shuld diligently cōtyne in your frendshyp by theyz me  
ritz / must take great labo's at many tymes vpon themſelue in  
your causes: but of all men they wer most ſure from iniury of  
any man: And lothely all my lynage bath done alſomochc as in  
tayls & nedes to alſylt you. Wherefore if ye folowe the preceptz  
of grattitude: if ye vere in remēbraunce these merites of myne  
auncetry / it is bothe right & honesty that in this myne extreme  
necessite / ye ayde & locour me & restore me agayn to quyvetnes:  
whyle ye haue none other busynesses in hand / whiche may be  
to you ipedimēt i this enterprieſe. Moost discreet fathers: moſe  
brefely & clely to declare vnto you my complaint & my myſtry:  
And also to certify your excellencie moze playnly of myne vn-  
naturlall & vnykndy kynſman Jugurth: and of his cruelte. It  
is nat vnkownen vnto yo' mageſte: that my father Micipla  
after his departing: left behynde hym vs two b̄ethern his na-  
turall & laufull ſonies: ſuppoſyng that by his benefytes & me-  
rites Jugurth ſhulde be ioynd with vs / as thyde brother.  
But alas: moche contrary thone of vs is murdred by this cru-  
ell Jugurth / diynded by inſatiable ambition & delyze of do-  
minion. And I my ſelfe the ſeconde brother ſkarſly and with  
great diſſiculte haue escaped his cruell & vnmerryfull hādes:  
what may I do: or whether ſhall I ratheſt ſle foꝝ conforſt vns  
happy exulate thus desolate & infortunate as I am. All the ſo-  
cours all þ cofort / of my ſtocke & kynred is extint by deth my  
grandfather Maſlinilla / & my father Micipla: as necessite  
hath coſtrayned them: haue payed þ generall tribute of natu-  
re: deluyered from theſe müdayne veraciōs by naturall deth.  
My neare kynſman Jugurth: moch otherwyſe than it be came  
hym to do: bath curſedly bereft my brother of his lyfe by ty-  
ranny & myſcheuous couſile of dominion: myne other kynſ-  
men by cōſanguynite & affinitate: withall myne other frendes  
by his cruelte ben also opprefſed or put to deth / ſome by one  
meanes & ſome by other: ſome of hym be taken captiue: ſome  
put to shamefull deth of gybet / galous / or crosse / & moſt cruelle

tourment: some be casten to wylde & rapinous beestes to be devoured of them. A fewe whiche ar left with theyz lyues/are cleasid in dongpons & darknes: passyng theyz miserable lyues with moutnyng & waylyng more greuous than deth. Thus am I inayzoned with anguysshe on every syde. But if it were so:that all these socours whiche I haue lost by cruelte of Jugurth:or if all thyngs which be turned to me: from prosperite to aduersite remayned to this hour hole without detriment or damage lyke as they were in my best estate: yet certaynly noble senatours: if any yll or myssfortune bnprouided shulde happen unto me: I durst be bolde to call your ayde and constre. Bycause it semeth you to haue cure of right & wrong besyongyng to euery man: cōsydryng the excellent magnitude & gretnes of your empire/and to suffre no vertue bntwarded nor vice bnpunysched/ and finally no wretch oppressed to contynue bndefended. But now moost of all sythe I am exulat from my natys coutrey/ from the kyngdome whch my father ruled vnder you: and from my owne house & dwellyng place/ also nedys and poore of all thyngs belonginge to myne estate/ and alone without company or defence: to whome or to what place may I resorte:or in whome may I call for ayde or constre in these my manyfolde miseries. Shall I resorte or call for socours of nations/or of kynges adiacent and about the lande of Numyd: alas I shulde lytell preuayle or nougat at all. Syth all they for your amyte toyned with you:be moystall ennemysse to vs & to our lynage:may I resort to any constrey about vs: but that I shulde fynde there many takens of cruelte of warre:which my fathers haue done in theyz tymes passed in your causes. Whyther shall any of them whch haue ben our oldiennemis haue mercy or cōpassyon on vs nowe in this our extremite. But finally most noble senatours/ my faſher Micipſa thus ordred vs at his departyng: and gaue vs in commaundement that we shulde obserue nor mentayne the frendshyppe of none other kyng nor people/saue onely of the people of Rome: and that we shuld leke no newe felowshyp/ nor newe confederacions or bondes of cōcoerde sayeng that in your frendshyp & helpe: we shuld fynde great socours & ayde and that largely. But if it shuld fortune that þ welth of this your empire shuld fall into tuyne or chāge from this excellēce (whiche the goddes defende) than:sayde he that we and our kyngdome of necessite shulde also decay togyder with you. But now lauded be the goddes by whose helpe & fauour/and by your owne strength & vertue: ye be at this tyme myghty & riche: all thyng to you is prosperous and to your cōmaundement obeyng. Wherefore it is somach moxe laufull/easy and

Jugurth.

C.ii.

Pars capiti a Iugurtha,  
pars in crucem acti, et  
pars bestijs obiecti sunt.

Pauci (quibus relictā est anima) clausi in tenebris: cum merore et luctu morte grauiorem vitam existunt. Sed si oia mihi quæ aut amisisti, aut que ex necessarijs aduersitatis sunt in columnia manerent: tandem si quid ex improviso malo accidisset vos implorarem patres conscripti quibus pro magnitudine imperij ius et iniurias oēs cure esse decet. Nunc vero exul patria, domo, solus atq; oīm honestatum rerū egens quo accedam aut quos appellem. Nationes ne an reges & qui oēs familiæ nostre ob vestram amicitiam infecti sunt. An quoq; mihi adite licet vbi non meorū majorum monumenta hostilia plurima sint.

An quisq; nostri misereri potest qui aliquando nobis hostis fuit? Postremo Micipſa ita nos instituit patres conscripti ne quem coleremus nisi populum romanū: ne societatem, neq; federa nostra acciperemus: abunde magna presidia nobis in vestra amicitia fore. Sed si huic imperio fortuna mutaretur: vna occidendum nobis fore. Virtute ac dijs volētibus magni et opulenti estis. Oia secūda et obedientia sunt: quo facili' sociorum iniurias curate licet.

## The batayle

Tantum illud vereor ne  
quos priuata amicitia Iu  
gurthae parum cognita  
traſuerſos agat: quos ego  
audio ſū ma ope niti / am  
bitie fatigare vos ſingula  
rios: ne quid de abſētē / in  
cognita cauſa) ſtatutis.

Fingeſte me verba: et fu  
gam ſimilare: cui licuerit  
in regno manere.

Q: utinam illum ( cuius  
impio facinore in has mi  
ferias projectus sum ) ea  
dem hæc ſimilantē videſ: et  
aliquādo aut apud vos  
aut deos immortales: re  
cum humanarū cura oria  
tur: vt ille qui nunc ſceles  
ribus ſuis ferox atq; p̄eſ  
clarus est omnibus in aliis  
ipſe excruciatuſ impieta  
tis in parentem noſtrum:  
frat̄r̄ mei necis: mea ſic  
miſeriarū graues pe  
nas reddat.

Iamiam frater aīo meo  
chariſſime q̄q tibi imma  
turo: et vnde minime de  
cuit: vita crepta eſt tamē  
letandum: magis q̄ dole  
dum caſum tuum puto.

Non enim tātum regni:  
ſed fugam / exiliū / egcta  
tem / et has oēs erumnaſ  
( que me premūt ) cum ani  
ma ſimul amifisti. At ego  
infelix in tāta mala pre  
cipitat̄ ex patrio regno  
terum humanarū ſpecta  
culum prebeo.

conuenient to you to take cure & charge in redressing thinſu  
ties done to yo' frendes & felowes. I am onely in dredre and  
dout of this one thyngē leſt the frendſhipp & ſinguler fauour  
of Jugurth: nat paſſetly knownen as he is worthy: do induſe  
the myndes of ſome to parcialite agaynt Justice and ryght.  
I here & vnderſtāde that ſuch labour withall they: myght for  
fauour of Jugurth goyng about from man to man / prayng  
and intreayng with moche ſolitude many of you a part by  
one & one / deſtryng & requiryng you to determine no thyngē  
agaynt Jugurth whyle he is absent: & the mater and cauſe  
nat knownen perfectly: I here ſuſhe pſons corrupt w partialite  
and fauour obiectyng ſecretly agaynt me / and ſayeng that I  
ſayne and p̄magyn theſe woſdes to accufe Jugurth vndeler  
uyngly / and þ I ſayne to be chafed forth of my lande by hym:  
wher as I myght ſurely pough haue remayned within the  
kyngdome of Numidye. That wold god I myght ſe ones the  
curſed & vnynde kynſman of myne Jugurth / by whose vns  
mercysfull & cruell dedes I am caſten in theſe miſeries / in ſuch  
caſe: that he were ſaynyng the ſame thynges vnder lyke ma  
ner as I ſayne them at this tyme: and wolle god I myght  
ones ſe hym as truely wout ſaynyng vypuen out of þ lande of  
Numidye / as I am nowe chafed from the ſame by his cruelty:  
and wolle god þ at laſt other ye or elſe the immortall goddes  
wold ſo care for þ busynelſes & troubles of þe myſerable men  
in eth: that þ same Jugurth whiche now bereth þſelfe proud  
of his ſyndfull dedes / ſhewyng hymſelfe & countyng hym noble  
onely bcause he escapeþ vnpunyſhed for his ſyndes & cruelte:  
myght therfore ſuffre gteuous paſyſt met wall my miſeries  
& other miſcheues & yis / acordyng to his deſecutyng: for his  
vnmmercysfull cruelte ſhewed agaynt our father Nicipsa / in  
murdryng of my dete brother Nicimsall / & chalyng me forth  
of my naſte conſtre: thus oppreſſed w all miſeries in extreme  
neccſite. O my brother my brother Nicimsall / moſt vere to  
my hart of all creatures: howbeit no we thy lyfe is bereft the  
ſa thy floutryng yowth / longe before thy naturall hour of doth:  
and þ by cruelte of hym / whome it ſemed nat of all men ſo to  
haue done: neuertheleſ me thynketh in my mynd this chaſice  
of thy dete moſe to be ioyned of: than to be ſozored. For thou  
haſt nat onely loſt thy lyfe & thy kyngdome: but alſo thou haſt  
escaped this chalyng / this flyght / this exyle / this nedē / this  
poverty withall other wretchednelſes & miſeries / whiche op  
preſſeth me wout coſort or ſocours. But I vnhappy & miſera  
ble exulate thus thrown downe from my fathers kyngdome  
into ſo many yis & ſo great miſeries / may weſe an example  
and ſpectacle to al þ world of the miſerable courses wherin foſ

tune turneth mankynd. My dere brother vncertayne am I what I do: whyther I thus distitute of socour and ayde: may persecute and reweng thy iniuries & thy deth/or els whether I may prouide and seke socours for recouertyng of the lande of Numidy. I am in that case: that my lyfe & deth dependeth in the socour of other men. Wold god I were deed out of hande: if deth myght be an honest conclusion of these my miserable misfortunes: rather than to be counted as content & pleased to lyue in rebuke and shame: as an exulate wetyed & ouercom with iniuries: and gyueng place to the iustiſt cruce of tyran nous persecucion/and as nat able no: bolde to resist the same. But nowe certaynly it is agaynst my wyll that I lyue/for in my lyfe I haue no lyking nor pleasure / and yet can I nat dye without dishonour. Wherfore moost prudent fathers & noble senatours:these premisses consydered: I obtest & humbly re quyre you:in honour of the goddes immortall: for thauncet amyte bytwene you and my forefathers:for the naturall loue whiche ye haue agaynst your chylđren & parentes and by the mageſte of the people of Rome:& this your most excellent em pire:haue pyte of my manyfolde calamitees & socour this my misery. Resist this ip̄zannous dealyng & injury of Jugurth commyted nat onely agaynst my wretched persone: but also agaynst you and your empire. Suffre nat the kyngdome of Numidy:which is your owne: to decay and be destroyed by cruell tyranny of Jugurth/and by the effusion of blode and murdere of the lineage of Massinissa/somtyme most faythfull and constant frende of this your empire.

**C**howe the embassadours of Jugurth replyed agaynst these wordes of Adherball: & what dy reccion was taken for bothe parties of the senatours of Rome.      **C**he. xi. chapter.

**A**fter that Adherball / in forme aboue witten had ended his complaynt: anone the embassadours of Jugurth arose & answerd brefely in fewe wordes:as they whiche had moze trust & confidence in theyz great qyestes gyuen before to many of the rulers of Rome:than in any right of theyz cause and thus they replyed in effecte: sayeng before the senatours that Hiempſall was slayne of the Numidians for his owne hastines & cruelle/and nat by knowlege of Jugurth:and as touchyng Adherball:he began war̄ agaynst Jugurth of his owne stoward mynd: without any occasion:but after he was Jugurth.

**C.iii.**

Incertus sum quid agam: tuas ne iniurias pſequar ipſe auxilijs egens: an re gno consulam: cuius vitę necisq; potestas ex opib; alienis pendet . Utinam emori fortunis meis ho nestus exitus esſet: ne vi uere contentus videretſi deſcelſus malis iniuriaſ concessiſem.

Nūc neq; viuere libet mi hi/neq; mori licet ſine de core.

Patres cōſcripti obte ſtor vos p liberos atq; pa rentes uestros:p mageſta tem populi romani: subuenite milii mifero.

Ite obuiam iniurię: golite pati regnum Numidię (quod uestrū eſt) per ſe culus et ſanguinem familię noſtre tabescere.

**P**otq; rex loquendi fi nem fecit: legati Ju gurthę largitione ſre ti magis q; cauſa paucis respondent,Hiempſalem ob ſeuitiam ſuam a Nu midis interfectum.

Adherbalem vtro bellū inferentem ( poſtq; ſupe ratus ſit) queri,g; iniuria facere nequiuerſet.

## The batayle

Jugurtham ab senatu pesterne se alium putarent ac Numancia cognitus esset: neu verba inimici ante facta sua ponent.

Leinde vtiq; a curia dis-  
greduntur. Senatus  
statim consulitur: fauto-  
res legatorū: preterea se-  
nat⁹ magna pars grā de-  
pranata Adherbalis di-  
cta continebat: Jugurtha  
virtute extollere laudi-  
bus. grā, voce. Dei. q; oī-  
b; medis pro alieno scelē  
re et flagitio: sua quasi  
pro gloria ntelatūr. Ac cō-  
tra: pauci quibus bonū et  
aquū diuitijs car⁹ erat  
subuenientū Adherbalis,  
et Hiempsalis morte se-  
vere vindicidā censem̄t. Sed ex oībus maxie Ae-  
milius Scaurus homo no-  
bilis, impiger, factiosus,  
auidus potētia, honoris,  
diuitiarum. Ceterum vi-  
ta callide sua occultas.  
Is p̄stq; videt regis largi-  
tionem famolām impudē-  
temq; veritus (quod in ta-  
li refieri solet) ne polluta  
licentia inuidiam ac-  
cenderet, aīm a consueta  
libidine continuit: vicit  
tamen in senatu pars il-  
la que vero precium aut  
gratiam anteferebat.

Decretum sit vti decē le-  
gati regnum quod Mici-  
psa obtinuerat inter Ju-  
gurtham et Adherbalem  
diuidenter: cuius legatio-  
nis princeps fuit Lucius  
Opimus: homo clarus: et  
tum in senatu potens: qui  
cōsulibus Caio Gracchō  
et Maico Fulvio flacco

ouercome in batayle/because he was nat able to reueng hym  
selfe/noz to make his partie good/he fled vnto Rome to com-  
playne hym to the senato's of Jugurth: where as all h̄ faute  
was in hymselfe and in none other / concerryng the partie of  
Jugurth: they recuyzed the senatours in his behalfe in his  
absence to count hym none other than he was p̄ued & knownen  
in the warre of Numance: and that they wold nat set more by  
the wordes of his ennen y than by his dedes magnificently  
proued. This sayd: anone after: bothe parties deptyd in son-  
der from the court. Immediatly the senatours toke couzell  
what best was to be done in the cause. The fauourers of Ju-  
gurth & of his embassadours and moze ouer a great part of  
the senatours were corrupt before by partialite / fauour / and  
rewardis of Jugurth and so deprauat: that they contemned &  
set at nought h̄ wordes of Adherball / craltryng & cōmendyng  
the manhood of Jugurth: with laude / lauour / cōtenaunce /  
voce / and all other signes: And so finally they laboured by  
all maner of meanes for an others myschewous vice & cruell  
cryme to defende the same: as if it had ben in defencē of theyz  
owne he[n]our / & shyp & he[n]este. But on the other part were  
a fewe other / whiche set moze by iustice and honeste / than by  
false gotten riches: these counselled to socour Adherball and  
sharply to punysshē & reuege the deth of Hiempsal. But among  
all other of this opinion: was one named Emilius Scaurus  
a man of noble byxth redy to disturbe every busynes / debatful  
& besy: desirous of power / of authorite / of honour & of riches:  
but crafty in clokyng of these his fautes. After this Emilius  
Scaur⁹ sawe his gyueng of b̄ybes of Jugurth so shamfully  
& openly knownen: he fered lest h̄ corruption of the senatours &  
heed rulers of Rome myght engēder envy / debate & slaughter  
bytwene them & the cōmune / lyke as in suchē cases often had  
fortuned i tymes before. Wherfore in this cōsideracion he re-  
frayned his mynde at this tymē st̄m his accustomed vnlau-  
full us̄tes. Neuertheles among h̄ senato's in this couzell the  
worst part p̄suayld: and h̄ part whiche set moze by fauour &  
rewardes than by right & equite ouercam h̄ other part / whiche  
laboured to sustayne h̄ right wout any fauour or partialite.  
And so the fauourers of Jugurth optapned theyz purpose / &  
his cruelte had no punysshēt. Neuertheles it was cocluded  
& decreed that t. embassado's shuld be sent into Numidie to  
diuide h̄ kyng dome which longed to Miciplā bytwene Ju-  
gurth & Adherbal. The principal of this embassade was one  
named Lucius Opimus a man of noble fame / of great au-  
thorite & power among the senatours in those dayes: what ty-  
me Caius Gracchus & Marcus Fulvius great fauourers of

the cōmens: were slayne of the noble men of Rome for þ same cause: After victory of the noble men agaynst the cōmens & the same two princes: this Lucius Opimius enraged greuously w̄tigoous & sharpe inquisitions & examinacions agaynst the poore cōmente: And was one of the chise oppressors of them. What tyme this Lucius Opimi⁹ w̄ his cōpany was come to Numid⁹: Jugurth prepared to attempt his old craftes: And howbeit he had founde the same Lucius for one of his enemis at Rome / neuertheles he receyued hym w̄orshypfully & with great diligēce. And w̄ gyueng & pmislyng many thyngs he b̄ought his purpose so to effect/ that this Lucius at cōclusion preferred the fauour & profet of Jugurth before his owne good name & fidelite: & b̄efely: before all thyngs belonging to hymselfe. This brought to passe: anone he went in hand w̄ the other of þ embassado's after the same way: & many of the he wan & ouercāe w̄th gystes. very fewe of them were whiche set more by theyz fayth & treuch than by money & rewardes of Jugurth. Wherfore whā it was come to limitation & separacion of the lande of Numid⁹/ by twene Adherball & Jugurth as the sayd embassado's were comauanded of the senatours: that part of the kyngdome which marched toward Mauritany/o: the lande of the Mauritens beyng most opulent and plentyfull of fruitfull syldes and of men / was gyuen to Jugurth: but the other part/ whiche was more pleasant than p̄fitable as ornate without hauyn townes and fayne edifyses: was comyted to possession of Adherball. 

**C**ōme for alsmoche as in this hystory before & most of all in sequele and p̄cresse of the same hath & shalbz made mention of many places & townes of Affrike: to thinten that thyng may be moze clere and euident/ me thynketh it requisite and conuenient b̄efely to describe the sytuacion of Affrike: and a lytell to touche those peoples and countreis/ whiche with the romayns had at any tyme amite o: frenshyp/other peace o: warre. But suth places and nacions whiche for heat and wyldernes be lytell frequented of people / or nat inhabited: of them it is nat easly to describe nor declare the truth: for by difficulte of the places/ fewe or none resortheth ther perfectly to knowe the same. But the other partes frequented of people I shall as b̄efely declare as can be touched.

**C**The descripcion of the habitable parties of the countrey of Affrike/namely of luche nacions as had amitye o: warre with the Romayns.

**C**The .xii. chapter.

intersectis acerrime nobilitatis victoriam in plēbem exercuerat.

Eum Jugurtha tametsi Romæ in inimicis habuerat: tamen accuratissime accepit. Dando et polliscendo multa persecit. Vt i fame, fidei, postremo omnibus suis rebus commodum regis anteficeret.

Reliquos legatos eadem via aggressus est: plerosq; capit. paucis charior fides q̄ pecunia erat.

In diuisione regni que ps Numidie Mauritaniam attingit agris virisq; opulētior Jugurtha tradid. Illam alterā specie pocis orem q̄ vsu: quæ portuosa et edificijs magis exornata erat: Adherbal possedit.

Res postulare videtur si tum Aphrice paucis expōnere: et eas gētes quisibus cum nobis bellū aut amicitia sicut attingere.

Sed que loca et nationes ob calorem et aspiritatē inter solitudines minus frequentata sunt: de his haud facile comp̄tum narravero. Cetera q̄ paucissimis absolua.

## The batayle

**I**n diuisione orbis ter-  
ræ pleriq; in parte ter-  
tia Aphricam posuerer;  
pauci tantummodo Asiam  
et Europā esse: sed Aphri-  
cam in Europa.  
Ea fines habet ab occidē-  
te fretum nostri maris et  
oceani.

Abortu solis declinem la-  
titudinem: quem locū Ca-  
tabathmon incole appellat.  
Mare seu importuo-  
sum: ager frugū fertilis/bos-  
sus pecoris: arbori infec-  
tus: cali terræq; penuria  
aquarum.

Genus hominum salutis  
corpo, velox, patiens la-  
borum: plerosq; senectus  
dissoluit: nisi qui ferro  
aut bestijs interiere. Nā  
haud mortis sāpe quemq;  
superat. Adhuc malefici  
generis plurima aialia.  
Sed qui mortales in ini-  
cio Aphricā habuerent: qui  
q; postea accesserint: aut  
quomodo inter se pmixti  
sint: quamq; ab ea fama  
qua plerosq; obtinet di-  
uersū est: tamen vti ex lib-  
bris punicis quireg: His-  
emplatis dieebant: inter-  
pretatum nobis est: vti q;  
rem sese habere cultores  
ei<sup>o</sup> terre putatiq; pacem i-  
mus dicam. Carterū fides  
ei<sup>o</sup> penes authōres erit.

**A**phricam habuerent in  
initio Getuli et Lybes,  
asperi, incultiq; quibus  
cibis erat caro ferina: atq;  
humus pabulum vti peco-  
ribus. Hi neq; moribus,  
neq; lege, aut imperio cui-  
usq; regebantur: vagi,  
palantes, quo nox coe-  
gerat sedes habebant.  
Sed postquam in Hispania  
Hercules sicuti Aphri-

**D**iuiision of the circle of the Worlde  
the opinion of most writers is: that it is diuided  
into thre partes/ Europe/ Asy/ & Affrike. A fewe  
other authours hold opinion: that it is deuided  
only into two partes / that is to say Asy & Eu-  
rope: so that vndir climate of þ part whiche is called Euro-  
pe: the thirde part named Affrike is comprehended. But this last  
opinion is least allowed. This countrey of Affrike hath his  
bondes on the see of Italy on the West part and on the ocean  
see it abordeth partly on the same syde: on the Est part therof  
is a declining & pendant baley ryght ample & large. Thinha  
bytautes of this baley call it Cathabathmon in theyr affrike  
langage: that is to say in englyssh a dependāt baley. On this  
Est syde: the see is outragyous/ cruell/ perilous & wout any  
sure hauen: but the fyldes & soyle on this part are plentyfull of  
corne/ and for all maner beestes is good pasture/ but the soyle  
is nat apt to trees beryng frute: of water is scarcite/ bothe of  
rayne water & of water springyng of the erth. The dispositi-  
on of the people is holsome of body/ swyft/ & may well endur  
labour. Insomuche that the most part dye for extreme  
age/ sauesuche as be slayne wypyn/ or devoured of wylde  
beest. For it is nat often sene þ corruption of humours ingen-  
dizing any infirmite bryngeth to deth. In this countrey be also  
many raupnous beestes & of diuers kyndes/ devouryng all  
thyng whiche they may overcome. But this omityng I wyll  
nowe brefely declare what maner people first of all inhabited  
this countrey of Affrike/ and what people thyther resorted to  
inhabite next after them. And howe the same peoples were  
myngled togidre. Howbeit that whiche I shall write is  
muche diuers from the commen fame and opinton of many  
men: neuerthelesse / I shall folowe the bokes written in Affrike  
ke language/ which (as it is sayd) belonged to the yong prince  
Htempall: whome Jugurth mурdred: of the same bokes I  
shall folowe the true interpretation in this mater/ and lyke as  
the inhabitautes of the same countrey affirme to be true.  
But touchyng the very credence of the trouth of the mater  
I report that to the authours.

**T**he first people whiche inhabited the countrey of Affrike  
were named Getulians & Lybeas/ a people hard/ sharpe & vn-  
manerd. These lyued of fleshe of wylde beest/ & fedde vpon þ  
grounde as beest vñresonable. And were nat ruled by any ma-  
ners/ but lyued wout lord/ or lawes/ as vagabudes & rouers.  
They had no certayn byding placis/ but wher as þ nyght toke  
þe: they: they rested for þ tyme. But after þ Hercules dyed in  
Hispanie/ as the Affricaslay: his army whiche was assēbled

of dyuers nations/ whan their captayne and heed was lost:/ dispersed themselves abrode anone after his deth/ and came to dyuers places of the woldē to leke theyz fortune/ where they myght optayne any habitacion or lordshyppe. Of whiche company/ the Medeans/ Persians/ and Armenians attinned with theyz shypes in that coost of Afrike/ which was nerest to the empire of Rome/ and longe tyme after occupied those costes. But the Persians inhabited themselfe moze inwards in the countrey towardē the ocean see: and in stede of houses they tourned theyz shypes botomes vpwardē and dwelled vnder the same. And no manuayle/ soz in the countre about them grewe no tymber nor other stiffe mete for buyldynge/ nor of the Spaniards which inhabited next to them/ neyther myght they bye nor bozowe. For the see was so gret & tempestous bytwene them/ and theyz langages so dyuers & unkno- wen to eyther people/ that by these two ipedimētes they were letted from the co's of marchādise or exchāges bytwene thē. These Persians by meane of martages by lytell & lytell mengled the Getulians wth them/ and bcause they proued oftenty mes the cōmodite of theyz grounde & feldes by often cōmuta- tions & chaungyng/ one with other/ at last they named them- selfe Numidias/ that is to say herdmen dwuided. And to this present daye the cotages or tylmeng houses be made longe & crooked sydes or couertures bowyng inwarde as if they were blyves of shypes traſuerſed or turned vp set downe. Tow- chyng þ Medeans & Armenians they loyned themselfe wth the Libyēs. For these Medeans & Armenians dwelled before mo- re nere to the see of Afrike. The Getulians inhabited mo- re nere to þ soſe rising: nat farre fro the ſeruent countrey of Inde and this people anoue had rowmes & dwelling places/ for the ſee bytwene them & Hispanie was but narowe/ wherefor they agreed with the Hispaniades to make exchanges & bartyn- ges of marchādise with them. The Lybiens corrupted theyz name by lytell and lytell changyng the ſame/ & at laſt in ſtede of Medians named themſelue Mautiis by barbariske pnu- ciacion of theyz language. But the welth & riches of the Per- siens in ſhort tyme increased and multiplied. In ſomoch that after they had named themſelue Numidians/ they increased in ſo great multitude: that they ſyſt countrey was nat able to noyſthe them all: So that after warde many of the yong and lufy people depaſted in ſonder from theyz frendes & laſt their countrey/ resorzyng to a countrey nere the cite of Carthage/ vacant at that tyme: In whiche countrey they inhabited them ſelue and named it Numidy after theyz name. ſhortely after this: bothe they whiche remayned ſtill in theyz firſt countrey

putā h̄interiſt: exercitus eius cōpositus ex varijs gentibus: amilo duce: ac paſſim mult; ſibi impium petētibus: breui dilabit. Ex eo numero Medi, Perſe, et Armeni nauibus in Aphricā traſuerſi proximos nō mari locos occu- pauere. Sed Perſe intra magis oceanū. Hiq; ala- ueos nauū inuerſos pro tuturiſ ſhabuere. Quia neq; materia i agris, neq; ab Hispanis emendi: aut mutuādi copia erat: mare magnū et ignara lingua cōmercia prohibebant. Hi paulatim per cōnubia Getulos ſecum miſcuere. Et quia ſaþe tentantes agros: alia, deinde alia loca petuerāt: ſemēt: ipſi Numidas appellauere. Ceterum adhuc edificia Numidarumq; agrestiā mappalia illi vocant: ob- longa, curuis lateribus tecta, quaſi nauium cari- na ſunt. Medi autē et Ar- meni accēſſere Lybes. Nam hi mare proprius Aphricū agitant. Ge- tuli ſub ſole magis/ haud precul ab ardoribus: hiq; inātute oppida habuere: nam freto diuīſi ab Hispa- nia/ mutare ſes inter ſe conſtituerant. Nomen eorum paulatim Lybes corrupere: barbara lin- gua Mautos pro Medis appellantes. Sed res Perſarum breui adoleuit: ac poſtea nomi- ne Numide propter mu- titudinem domi minuen- dam/ a parētibus digreſſi: poſſidere ea loca/ que pro- xiſte Carthaginem Nu- midia appellatur.

## The batayle

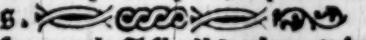
Deinde vtrig; alteris fre-  
ti finitimos armis, aut  
metu sub imperium suū  
coegere: nomen, gloriāq;  
sibi addidere: mag; hi qui  
ad nostrum mare procelle-  
rant: quia Lybes q; Getu-  
li minus erant bellicos.

Deinde Aphricē pars in-  
ferior pleraq; a Numidis  
possessa est: victi omnes in  
gentem nomenq; impe-  
rantium concilere.

Postea Phenices alij mul-  
titudinis domi minuen-  
de gratia: pars cupidine  
imperij, solicitata plebe,  
et alij nouarum re& au-  
di: Hiponem, Adrumen-  
tum, Leptim, aliasq; vr-  
bes in ora maritima con-  
didere.

Hæque breui multum au-  
te: pars originibus suis  
presidio, alie decori sue-  
re. Nam de Carthagine  
silere melius puto, q; parū  
dicere: quoniam alio pro-  
perate tempus admonet.

**C**Hac tum ex Marone,  
tum ex Seruio, reliquisq;  
probis auctoribus sunt  
excerpta.

and these which remoued thens assylded one another withall  
maner of helpe & socours. In somoche that what by strength  
and what by fear they brought vnder theyz subiecccion and do  
minion suche other nations as marched nece them: so that  
within shorte tyme they moche inhaunced & augmented their  
name and glory / but most namely they which inhabited that  
part of Afrike / whiche is ouer agaynst Italy and nece the  
Italian see/ these most increased in welth and honour. For  
the Lybiens were nat so good men of warre as the Getu-  
lians or Numidians. And so all the inward part of Afrike  
was for the most part in possession of the Numidians / and  
so moche dyd they: that all the nations of them subdued were  
called Numidians after the name of ouercomers. Nowe  
haue we declared howe the Getulians and Lybiās were first  
inhabitautes of Afrike: and howe the Persleans / Medeans /  
and Armenyens came afterwarde and ioyned with them.  
Howe the Persleans named themselfe Numidians. And the  
Medeans and Armenyens by corruption of langage were  
called Mauriens. 

**C**And nowe cosequently I shall declare what other people  
came afterwarde and inhabited the same lande of Afrike.  
After all these nations before rehersyd: out of þ lande of Phen-  
yce came moche people to inhabite themselfe in Afrike.  
Some bycause their owne countrey was nat sufficient to sus-  
tain so great a multitude as were of them. And other some  
great men of byrth & desyrous of lordshyp raysed vp & assem-  
bled the nedys comen people & left their owne countrey: in hope  
to fynd some other greater dominion els where/ and in pcess  
of tyme aryued at þ lande of Afrike: and there buylded thre  
cities vpon the see coost named Hippona / Adrumentum and  
Leptis: with other dyuers cities: but nat so great & famous  
as these were. These cities in short tyme were so augmented &  
increased that some of them were honour and some socoure &  
ayde to their originall countreis. But of the cite of Carthage  
which also by them was buylded / and afterwarde became the  
heed cite of Afrike: me thynke it is better to passe ouer wscis-  
cence: than of it to speke a lytell & than to leue the mater in the  
myddes vnperset / & also this my busynes pcedeth to an other  
purpose. Neuerthelesse somewhat shall I touche the first foun-  
dacion of this cite of Carthage / nat folowynge myne authour  
Salust: which wryteth nothyng therof: but folowynge the  
opinion of Vergil as he wryteth in the first booke of Eneas.  
**C**The quene Dydo daughter of Belus kyng of the lande of  
Cypre and wyfe to Sycheus kyng of Phenyce: fledde with  
her shypes laded with golde & other tyches out of her owne

cōtrey: dredyng þer cruelte of her brother Pygmalion: which blynded by couetyle and ambicyon had slayne her husbande Sicheus by treason. This Dido at last atayued wþ her ship, þ company at the coost of Affricke / where rayned a kyng named Hierbas: which moued wþtbeaute of Dido desyred her to wyfe. But for loue whiche she had to her first husbande Sicheus she wold nat cōsent thereto by any meanes: but desy red to bye of the same kyng Hierbas as moche ground as myght be cōpassed about wþt hyde of a bull. And after that it was graunted / she cut the hyde of a bull so small / that wþt the same she cōassed thre myle of grounde in compasse. In which space þ circuitte she bylded a cite: which first was named Byrsa. After in proces of tymme it was called Tyros: and last of all Carthage / vnder whiche name by long continuance so amply it encreased in fame and welth: that it contayned. xxxiiii. myles in cōasse. But whan it was in most excellency it was bitterly distroyed by the romains Publius Scipio Africane that tyme beynge captayne of the romayne armyn. Touchyng the foundacion of this famous cite of Carthage / somoche haue I written more than myne authour Salust. But nowe wyll I returne to myne institute þ purpose cōcernyng the dy scription of Affrike / þ brefely bryng it to cōclusion. The bas ley of whom I speake before named in Affrike lāgage Cathabathmon / deuided the cōtrey of Affrike from Egypt on that syde saue that an arme of the see is bytwene the first cite or habitation of Affrike towarde this baley / þ is called Cyrene. And nere to the same be other two cites / the one named Tolonia / þ other Thercon: beyond these thre cities be two quicke fādes / þ bytwene bothe fādes a cite named Leptis. Beyond this cite of Leptis / is a place named of the romains Phylenorūm are in englyshe: the auters of two bretherne called Phileinis / bycause these two bretherne suffred thēlselfe to be quicke buryed in the same place for the comen wele of theyz cōtrey: wheroft thy story herafter shalbe written at more oportunitate. This place diuideth the dominion of Carthage from Egypt on that syde. After this place on the syde costes be other cities belonginge to the dominion of Punike. All the places from thens forthe to Mauritany or lande of the Mauriens / be vnder subiection of the Numydians. The Mauriens haue theyz habytacyon nere to Hispanye. But as we rede: the Getulians haue theyz habitation beyond the Numydias: some in poore lodgys: and some other more vylly without habitation wandrynge as vagabūdes. Beyond these Getulians is the lande of Ethyope: and from thens forthe be cōtreis so bient wþt feruour of the sonne that they be inhabitable,

Igitur ad Catabathmon  
( qui locus Egyptum ab  
Africa diuidit secūdum  
mare ) prima habitatio  
Cirene ē, Tolonia, Ther  
con, ac deinde due sunt  
Syrtes, inter quas Leptis,  
Deinde Phulenorum are,  
quem locū Egyptum ver  
sus finem imperij habue  
re Carthaginenses.

Post alie Punicē vrbes,  
cetera loca vsq; ad Mauro  
taniam Numidā tenēt.  
proxime Hispaniā Mau  
ri sunt.

Supra Numidiam Getu  
los accepimus, partim in  
tugurijs, alias incultius  
Vagos agitare. Post eos  
Ethiopes esse, deinde loca  
expusta solis ardoribus.

## The batayle

Igitur bello Jugurthino pleraque ex Puniceis oppida: et fines Carthaginensium: quos nouissime habuerant: populus Romanus per magistratus administrabat. Getulorum magna pars et Numidie usque ad flumen Mulucham sub Jugurtha erat. Maures oibus impitabat rex Bocchus prater nomine per cetera ignarus populo Romano. itemque neque pace, neque bello ante cognitus erat. De Africca et de eiusdem incolis ad necessitudinem rei satis dictum est.

But duryng this warre byt wene the romayns and Jugurth: the romains had in theye possession many townes of Punike and moche of the costes of the myze of Carthage: and ruled the same by officers vnder them thereto assigned. A great part of Numidie and of the Getulyans unto a fiodde named Mu lucham: was vnder the dominion of Jugurth. Ouer all the Mauritians raygned one kyng named Bocchus: of whome the romayns had no knowledge saue of his name only. And before this batayle: he was nother in peace nor in warre acquaintance/no; knownen of the romayns. Of Afrike & of thyn habitautes of the same: ynough is spoken and as moche as is requisite of necessite to the processe of this hystory. Nowe wyll I make regression and prosecute my first purposed matter insuyng myne authour Salust.

**C**how Jugurth inuaded the kyngdomme of Adherball yet ones agayn: and how Adherball agayne was ouercome in batayle: & put to flyght. **C**Chapter. xiii. chapter.

**P**ostq[ue] autem diuisio te p[ro]gnati ab Aphrica discessere: et Jugurtha contra animi timorem premia sceleris adeptum se videt: certum esse ratus quod ex amicis apud Numantiam acceperat, oia Roma venalia esse: simul et illorum pollicitationibus accusus: quos paulo ante munerib[us] expleuerat: in regnum Adherbalis animu intedit.

Ipse acer bellicosus. At is quem petebat: quietus imbellis; placido ingenio, oportunnis iniurie, metu[m] magis quam metuendus.

Igitur

**A**fter the embassadours of Rome: of whome I haue spoken before: had diuided the realme of Numidie bytwene Adherball & Jugurth: and were departed out of Afrike towarde Rome: anone Jugurth reuouelued in mynde howe he had escaped bnpunished for his cructie otherwyse tha his mynde feared before: And how in stede of punyshement: for his syne: he was rewarded with y better part of the lande of Numidie. Nowe he consydred that all was true whiche his frenedes had tolde hym before whyle he was in Hispanie with the romayne army in the warre of Numance: that is to say. That nothyng was so false & iust: but that myght be iustifyed at Rome for money/ for all thyng myght be bought there for money. This consideracion inhaunced his mynde vnto esperance & that nat a lytell. Forthermore he was inflamed with the large promises of them: whome he had acloyed before with gyftes & rewardes at Rome: In somoche that agayne of newe he fydred his mynde to inuade & vsurpe the kyngdome of Adherball: and by some poynt of prodicion to take hym in trap as he had done Hemplall his brother. This Jugurth was fiers sharpe & apte to wary well inured with the same & expert i feates therof: but contrarely Adherball: whome he assayled & pursued: was a mete man & oportune to take intury/

take iniury/more ferefull and dredyng other/ than to be drad of other. Wherfore soodenly/and without any prouisyon on party of Adherball: Jugurth invaded the marches of his kyngdome/with a great power & multitude of men of armes/ many of chnhabitantes he murdere/and many toke he pris- soners with beastes & all other maner of prayes/robbryng and spoylng euery where: as ferre as his army displesd/townes/ castels and other edifyses he brent & beat downe: and many other places he assayled and invaded moze inwardly in the countrey by ercourses of his horsemen. This done he returned into his countrey with all his multitude/prayes & prisoners: supposyng that Adherball moued with angre & displeasure wold reuenge these iniuries/and that thyng shulde be cause & occasion of open warre bytweene them. But Adherball aduis- sed hymselfe well: by remembraunce of his first batayle had with Jugurth that he was nat able to contende with hym in batayle nor with force of armes: and moze ouer he had moze confidence & trust in frendshyp of the Romayns/than in the in- constat Numidians/ which leaned moze to his ennemy than to hym. These thynges consydred: he send embassadours to Jugurth to complayne of these iniuries: But these embassa- dours had noughe els of hym but contumelious/proude and hasty wordes. And so despised of Jugurth returnd agayn to theyz lord Adherball: though suche answers myght haue mo- ued any coragious her: neverthelesse Adherball determined in mynde: to suffre all thynges and to take many iniuries pa- tiently: rather than agayn to begyn batayle with Jugurth. For (as sayd is) the batayle foughten before bytweene them was bothe to dishonour & also great dammage. But for all this suffrance of Adherball: the mynde of Jugurth was nat more pacifed/nor lessed of his cruelte. The pacience of Ad- herball abated nat the Ire of Jugurth: but it augmented: For all redy he had cocluded in mynde to inuade y hole kyngdōe of Numidy. Therfore he began agayn of newe: nat as before with a company of reuers / but with a myghty and great armē assembled togyder demeanyng open warre/and chalangyng openly the hole empire of Numidy/and with such power pro- ceded into the land of Adherball: wastyngh the townes & fylde/ on euery syde/dryuing away prayes of catell & other riches: and increasyngh corage to his men/and dredye to his ennemis. Whan Adherball sawe it was come to that point that he must nedes other abandon and gyue ouer his kyngdome/or els mayntayne it with force of armes/as he whiche was constrainyd by extreme necessite:he assembled & emparyled an armē as well as he myght/and with the same proceeded forth to mete Jugurth.

D. i.

Igitur Jugurtha ex im- prouiso eius fines cū mas- gna manu inuadit: mul- tos mortales cum pecore atq; alia preda capit:edi- ficia incendit: pleraq; lo- ca hostiliter cum equita- tu petit.

Deinde cū omnium mula- titudine in regnū suum cōuertit: existimans Ad- herbalem dolore p̄motū iniurias suas vindicatu- rum eamq; tem belli cau- sam fore. At ille: q; neq; se parem armis existima- bat: et amicitia populi ro- mani magis q; Numidis fretus erat: legatos ad Ju- gurtham de iniurijs que- stum misi: qui tametsi cō- tumeliosa dicta retulerūt prius tamen omnia pati decreuit q; bellum sume- re quia tentatum ante le- cus cesserit.

Neq; eo magis cupido Ju- gurtha minuebatur.

Quippe qui totū regnum ei<sup>o</sup> animo iam inuaserat: Itaq; non vti ante cū pre- datoria manus: sed magno exercitu comparato bel- lum gerere cepit: et toti<sup>o</sup> imparium Numidiæ pes- tere: cæterum qua perge- bat: vrbes, agros vastate: predas ageret: suis animū: hostibus terorem auges- re. Adherbal vbi intelles- sit eo processum: vti re- gnum aut reliquendū es- set: aut armis retinen-

## The batayle

dum necessario copias parat et Jugurtha obuius procedit. Interim haud longe amari prope Ciritham oppidum vtriusq; exercitus cōsedit et quia diei extremum erat: pellum nō est inceptū: sed vbi plurimum noctis processit: obscuro etiam tunc lumine: milites Jugurthi nī signo dato castra hostiū inuidunt: semisōnos patim alios sumētes armā sugāt surduntq;. Adherbal cum paucis equitibus Ciritham profugit: et ni multitudo togatorum sufficit: qua Numidas in sequentes membris prohibebat: uno die inter duos reges ceptuni atq; pistratum bellum forer.

Jugurtha oppidum circū sedidit: vineas, turribusq; et machinis omnium generum expugnare agreditur: maxime festinans tempus legatorum ante capere quos ante pellū factum ab Adherbale romam missos audiuerat.

Jugurth. At last the two hostes of Adherball & of Jugurth approuched & rested nere togyder / belyde a towne named Ciritha / nat ferre distant from the see coost / and soz alsmoch as the day drie we nere to nyght: the batayle was nat anone begon: but eyther party remayned in theyz tentes. Inone after moch of the nyght was ouerpassest / and the starre lyght somwhat dymmed w̄ obscurite of cloudz. The soudiours of Jugurth rayzed by the sounde of trumpettes bw̄natly & sodenly inuaded and assayled the tentes & felde of Adherball: some they murdred halle sleepynge: & some other they slewe whyle they were in hande to arme themselfe. On part of Adherball was petefull murdze: and on syde of Jugurth no mercy / but abstinent persecucion & vengeance: and so fierily fought Jugurth and his company that shorly Adherball fled to the towne of Ciritha accompanied with a fewe horsmen. But Jugurth pursued hym so nerely / that if the inhabitantes of the towne of Ciritha in hast & with great multitude had nat receyued Adherball / and with force of armes defended the walles / & kept foorth the soudiours of Jugurth whiche pursued Adherball: the batayle bytwene them both shuld haue begon & ended that one same day / and that to destruction of Adherball. But Jugurth perceiving the ente into the towne denysed to hym / anone besieg'd it on every syde with all maner ingynes inuasyue to his ennemites / and defensyue to his company: he caused hastely to be framed large pauyses and towres of tymbre to be dryuen upon whelis toward the walles of the towne. And with these and all maner other ingynes went in hande fierily to assayle the towne: and somoch more hastely he sped hym to thintet to bryng his purpose to effect / before any embassado's shuld come from Rome to resyst his enterpris. Soz alsmoche as before this batayle he had herd that Adherball had sende embassadours to Rome to certify the senato's of his miserable state.

**C**howe the fauourers of Jugurth at Rome laboured so in his cause / that thre yong men inerpet and wout policy were send embassado's into Affrike to celle this styfe bytwene the two kynges: and howe these embassadours returned to Rome without any thyng done.

### C The. xiii. chapter.

**S**ed post q̄ senatus de bello eorum accepit: tres adolescentes in Aphricā legātur: qui amboz reges adeant senatus populiq; romani vrb; nū ciēt censere et velle: eos

**B**ut after the senatours at Rome herd ridynges of this batayle / they send into Affrike the yonge gentylmen in embassade / comauing them to go to bothe the kynges / & to commaund them in behalfe of the senatours and of the hole people of Rome to celle theyz warre / and to shewe

them that the senate and Romayns wylled and biterly commaunded them so to do. And so doyng they shulor do as it seemed them: and as of cogtuence they ought to do both for pleasure of the Romayns & for theyr owne honouer & profet. The embassadours with such comauement hasted them and came vnto Afriske / the senatours had comauanded them to make somoche more expedition in theyr tourney/ bycause theydys were brought to Rome/ whan these embassadours prepared themselves forward: how the batayle was done bytwene Adherball & Jugurth and how Jugurth kept Adherball besieged straightly within the towne of Cirtha. But this rumour was somewhat alayed & kept secrete by fauourers of Jugurth/ after these embassado's were come to Numidie: they explesed to Jugurth the effect of theyr embassade in forme as the senatours had comauanded them. Whan Jugurth vnderstode the pleasur of the senatours by theyr wordes & embassade: he answered benignely sayeng that he counted no erthly thyng more great/noz excellent/noz moze dere vnto hym than the authorite of the senatours & people of Rome/ and that from his pougth to that tyme he had ever so indeuored to order hymself that euery good & worshypfull man comended & allowed hym for his vertu & manhode/ and nat for malice noz mysdemeaour. And for the same manlynes & nat for malicious dedes/ noz for disordred maners his company and conuersacion was accept and pleasour vnto the ryght hygh & worthy captayne Publius Scipio. Moreouer: for the same conuersacion and good maners & nat for faute of chylldren naturall his uncle Micipia had adopted hym for his sonne: and made hym inheritor of his kyngdome/partner w his owne naturall sonnes: and for almoch as he had demeaned hymself ryght well and worthely/ in executyng of many hygh & glorioous interpryses: somoch the lesse coude he suffre iniury done vnto hym vnteuenged. As touchyng Adherball Jugurth alleged for hymselfe that this Adherball by gyle & treason lay in wayt to flee hym: which thyng perceyued: he made resistence agaynst the same to the best of his power/ as any man was bounde to do for saueguard of his owne lyfe. And if the romayns wold prophibit & deny that vnto hym/ whiche Justice permitteth to euery man (that is/ with violence to resist & repell violence) than shulde they neyther do well noz ryghtwysly in that behalfe. Whan Jugurth had answered the embassadours after this maner: than sayd he for conclusion that shortly after he wold send embassadours to certify the senatours of all other thynges concernyng this busynes: and on this poynt Jugurth and the embassadours departed in sonder. Thus Adherball

Jugurth.

D.ii.

armis discedere, ita seq, illisq dignum esse. Legati in Apriaciam maturantes veniunt, eo magis q Romæ, quin proficiunt parant, de prelio facto & oppugnatione Cirthæ au diebatur.

Sed rumor clemens erat. Quorum lugurtha accepta oratione respondit, sibi neq; maij quicq; neq; charius autoritate senatus esse: ab adolescentia ita se enixum: ut ab optimo quoq; probaret.

Virtute, non malitia Publio Scipioni summo viro placuisse, ob easdem et artis a Micipia non penuria liberorum in tegnum adoptatum esse.

Ceterum q pleraq; bene atq; strenue fecerit, eo aim suū inturiam minus tollerare. Adherbalem doloris vita & insidiatur esse: quod vbi compertisset: sceleri obuiam ille.

Populum romanum neq; recte, neq; pro bono factum: si a iure gentium lese prohibuerit.

Postremo de omnibus rebus legatos Romanum breui missurum. Ita utriq; dixerintur.

Adherbali modo fuit appellandi copia.

## The batayle

Jugurtha vbi eos Aphrica discessisse rat<sup>e</sup> est. neq<sup>ue</sup> propter loci naturam armis expugnare Ciritham potest: vallo atq<sup>ue</sup> fossa media circundat, turres extruit, easq<sup>ue</sup> presidijs firmat.

Præterea dies noctesque aut per vim, aut dolis retinare: defensoribus mœniū præmia modo: modo formidinem ostentare suos hortando ad virtutem erigere/proرسus intētus cuncta parare.

At vbi Adherbal intelligit omnes fortunas suas in extremo sitas: hostem infestū: auxilijs spem nullam penuria necessaria rerum bellum trahi non posse: ex his, qui una Ciritham profugerant, duos

had no confort nor lycence to reply agaynst the wordes of Jugurth nor syght o<sup>r</sup> comunicacion with the embassadours: all onely was it graunted vnto hym to appelle to h<sup>e</sup> court of Rome for of these embassadours coude he haue no iustice nor dyreccyon in his injuries and persecucion. Whan Jugurth thought that the embassadours were passed forth of Africa toward Rome / and whan he sawe þ with force of armes he coude nat wynne the towne of Ciritha bycause of naturall sytuacion & difficulte of the place. Anone he besiged the towne agayn of newe and all difficultes nat withstandyng he made a profounde & depe trench rounde about the towne with sharpe stakes & payles stynched on hyghest part of the same trenches with sharpe pykes on their upper ends. This dyde Jugurth for many consideracions: first to thintent that the inhabitaries shuld nat breke forth of the towne sodenly at any syde vpon any part of his loundours whiche besiged them. Secondly to thintent þ on no part any batailes shulde be brought into them. Thirdly that the men of warre within the towne shuld nat thrust forth without þ towne the multitude of poore commens in tyme of famyne & scarcite of victayl. And fourthly: that no socours shuld entre into them to rescue the towne nor to supply theyz garyson. Whan this trenche was made & fynished Jugurth moreouer made strong bulwarkes & towres of tymber without the towne: & strengthed the same with garyson of wyght & bolde men of armes. By syde all these ordinaunces he left no thyng vnassayed nother spared he to attempt every thyng by strength nor by treason & gyple. Somtyme he proued þ watchmen & defenders of þ walles with gyftes exercyng them to betray the towne. Whan his rewardes auayled nouȝt than he threatned them with fiers & sharpe wordes: he inhaunced by exhortacions the myndis & courages of his owne men to manlynes & audacite. And so he aplyed his busynesse that no thyng he omittid wout o<sup>r</sup> possible to be done in such a case: nor no ingyne of warre laſt he vnprouided whiche i those dayes was contynued o<sup>r</sup> found: but rather besyde all old inuençions he ymagined & deuyled newe ingynes & ordinaunces of warre nat sene before that tyme / and all for distruccion of the towne of Ciritha / and of Adherball whome he besyrged with in the same. But what tyme Adherball consydred his fortune come to extremitie on all part he kest many thyngs in mynde. On the one syde he perceyued his ennemy Jugurth violent agaynst hym / and no trust of confort of socours. On the other syde he cosydred well / that for penury & want of loundours & other thynges necessary he was nat able nother to fyght with his ennemy / nor to dryue forth o<sup>r</sup> prolong the batayle: and for

faute of bytayle he myght nat long defende the towne. These thynges with many mo well reouolued in mynde he chose forthe two which were most diligent and trusty of that company which had fled with hym into Cirtha. To them he wos fully be wayled his misfortune: and made so large promyses of rewardes vnto them: that at last he induced them to go forthe of the towne by nyght priuely: and if they myght escape theyz ennemis to resorit to the next hauyn towne: and from thens to hast them to ROME with letters whiche he had deuised and written to be deluyerd to the senato's. These messangers were trusty & faythfull within fe we dayes without any disturbance: they fulfilled the commaundement of theyz soueraygne / and deluyerd the letters of Adherball vnto the senatours. Which letters anone were redde in the counsellhous before the senatours and rulers of ROME: of which letters the sentence hereafter insueth and was suchc.

**C**The sentēce of the letters sent from Adherball vnto the senatours of ROME: what tyme he lay besieged by Jugurth within the towne of Cirtha.

**C**The xv. chapter.



Dost worthy fathers it is nat throughth  
my faute that I sendeso often to you requeyng your socours/ and cōplaynynge myne  
inuryes: but the violence & rygour of Jugurth / cōpellet me thereto. Whose mynde  
is fylded with so great a lust and desyre to  
bereave my lyfe: þ neyther hath he in mynde  
the dredē of goddes punysshmet/ moꝝ fear of your displeasur.  
My blode he coueyteth moꝝ than all thynges: In somoche  
that no we is he. b. monerhſith I am kept closed / & besiged w  
armed men/b ytzanny of Jugurth. He nothynge regardyng  
that I am cōfederate felowe & frende of the p̄ople of ROME.  
Neyther can preuayle moꝝ helpe þ great benefites of my fader  
Mīcīpli done to this Jugurth/ moꝝ your authorite moꝝ ordu-  
naunces or decrees. I am vncertayn whyþer I am constas-  
ned & oppresed moꝝ greuously by force of armes or by hun-  
ger / for boþe inuoluerth me on alſydes / I wolde write vnto  
you moch more touchyng the tyzannous cruelte of Jugurth  
but my miserable fortune moueth me contrary: and more ouer  
I haue often p̄ceyued before this tyme: that small credence is  
gauen to such as ar oppressed with misery: Haue this I per-  
ceyue clerly that the mynde of Jugurth coueyteth gret ater  
Jugurth.

D. iii.

maxime impigros deles-  
git: eos multa pollicendo  
ac miserando calum suū  
cōfirmat: vt per hostium  
munitiōes noctu ad pro-  
ximum mare, deinde Ro-  
mam pergerent.

Numidæ paucis diebus  
iuissa efficiunt.

Litteræ Adherbalis in se-  
natu recitate sunt, qua-  
rum sentēcia hac erat,

**N**on mea culpa ſape  
ad vos oratum mitis  
tò patr̄es cōscripti,  
ſed vi Jugurth ſubegiti:  
quem tanta libido extin-  
guendi me inuasit: neq; vos,  
neq; deos immortales in aio habeat. Sangui-  
nem meum q̄ oia malit.  
Itaq; iam quintū mēsem  
ſocius, et amicus populi  
romani armis obſellus te-  
neor, neq; Mīcīpli patria  
mei beneficia, neq; vefra  
decreta auxiliantur.  
Ferro an fame acrius yr-  
gear incertus sum.

Plura de Jugurtha scribe-  
re dehortatur me fortu-  
na mea etiam ante exper-  
tus sum parum fidei miſe-  
ris esse, rāmen. intelligo.

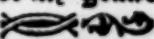
## The batayle

illum supra q̄ ego sum pere. Neq; simul amiciciā vestrā et regnum meū sperare utrū grauius exīstinet nemini occultū est.

Nam I initio occidit His  
empalem fratrem meū.  
Deinde patris regno me  
expulit. Que sane frerit  
nīc iniurie: nihil ad vos.  
Verum nunc regnum ar-  
misi tenet. Me quem vos  
impatorem numidis po-  
suistis clausum obsidet:  
legatorum verba quanti  
secerit: pericula mea de-  
clarans.

Quid reliquum nisi vis  
vestra qua moueri possit  
Nam ego quidem vellem  
hec que scribo et illa que  
antea in senatu questus  
sum vana forent: potius  
q̄ miseria mea fidem vo-  
bis faceret: sed quoniam  
in eo natus sum: vt Jugur-  
tha scelerum ostentui es-  
sem. Non iam morte nec  
erumnas tantummodo im-  
pium inimici et cruciat  
corporis dep̄cor. Regno  
Numidie patres conscri-  
pri quod vestrum est: ut  
libet consulite me mani-  
bus ab impijs eripite per  
magistratem imperij: per  
amicicitate fidē: si villa apud  
vos memoria manet aut  
mei Mallinissæ.

thyng than my deth or kyngdome. And if by your suffrage  
he shall subdue me and bereave me kyngdom at last he shall  
cysse and rebell agaynst your empayre. Wherfore if ye lyt nat  
to defende & socour my lyfe: at leest: defende your kyngdome  
of Numidie/and prevent the bsurper of your empire. Suffre  
nat this tyran to enioye the kyngdome of Numidie/ and  
your good wyl withal. But truly ye may well perceyue that  
he loketh nat after your sauour/ after he shal haue bsurped the  
realme of Numidie. But whyder he setteth lesse by losse of  
your feenschyp and fauour/ or of the dominion of Numidie:  
none is so blynde but that may euidently perceyue the trouthe.  
Soz his dedes declare: that he counteth lesse greuous to haue  
your hysgh displeasur/ than to lose his fiers purpose to sle me/  
and than to occupy the hole lande of Numidie. Soz this hath  
he proued and made manifest by his unnaturall and cruell  
dedes: first of all he hath slayne my brother Htempall: which  
dede he durst nat haue done if he had feared your displeasur:  
next that: he drove me forth of my countrey and fathers kyng-  
dome. But these iniuries for certayne were done agaynst my  
brother and me/ and nothyng they longed to you. But nowe  
he conspyreth hyer inuadynge/ bsurpyng/ and wastyng the  
hole lande of Numidie with force of armes. And where as ye  
set me as your lewtenant vnder you to gouerne a part of Nu-  
midie. This Jugurth nowe hath diuen me from my libertie  
into the towne of Cirtha/ and besergeth me with men of armes  
closed on all sydes with outwarde dredē and inward faminez  
So that my petyls may playnly declare how lytell he setteth  
by the wordes of your embassadours. Certaynly I can se  
nothyng remaynyng able to remoue his violence/ nor that  
can socour this my misery/ saue onely your power and vio-  
lence. I wolde cygght gladly: that these thynges whiche nowe  
I write to you/ and all those thyngs which I haue comp'aps-  
ned before in the counsellhouse were but sayned & false: rather  
than this my euident misery shulde proue them true & credi-  
ble vnto you. But sith I was borne in that hour/ and my de-  
stemy is such that Jugurth moost manifest his cursed cruele-  
ty by me/ therfore now my request nor prayer is nat that I may  
escape the sharpnes and crueste of miserable deth/ whiche I  
 beholde instant and inevitable/but onely my prayer is that I  
may escape the long subiection and bondage of my enemys:  
and prolonged tourmentz of my miserable body. But worthy  
fathers: touchyng the kyngdome of Numidie/ which appertay-  
neth to you: prouide you for the same as it lyketh you/ and if  
it be your pleasure: ryd and delþuer me from the cruell & vne-  
mercifull handes of Jugurth my mortall enemy for the hos-

nour and mageste of your empypre / and for the fidelite of all  
frenshyp / of any remembraunce of my grandfather Massi,  
nilla remayneth yet among you. 

**C**howe the senatours sede newe embassadours  
to Jugurth / commaundynge him to desyst from  
psecucion of Adherball: and howe they preuay-  
led nothyng: how the towne of Cyrtha was yel-  
ded to Jugurth: and howe he slewe Adherball.

**C**the. vi. chapter.

**A**fter these foreshadowde letters were  
openly red & recyted before þ senato's: mas-  
ny of them wey: which coulde led to send an  
army into Affrike / & in al hast couenient to  
socour & helpe Adherball. And in þ meane  
tyme they wold take counsell & aduise tou-  
ching Jugurth what shulde done to hym:  
because he had nat obeyed theyz embassado's. Whan the fa-  
uourers of Jugurth herd of this they laboured wthall theyz  
myght: that no such decrete shulde be made nor pcede to effect.  
And thus þ comen wele was ouercome & subdued by þþuante  
profet & parciall fauour: as in many other busynesses is dayly  
wont to happen. Nat withstandyng this parciallite: at last it  
was so determined: that other new embassado's wey sent yet  
ones agayn into Affrike/nat yong men & inexpert as before:  
but well aged men of grauite and discretion whiche were of  
great dignite: & had borne great & worshyfull offices i tyme  
past in the cite of Rome. Amonge which embassadours was  
one named Marcus Emilius Scaurus / of whome we haue  
made mencion before. This Scaurus was a man by riches  
& fame coulde able to be cousellour of Rome: and also at that  
tyme a myghty prince & great doer among the senato's / & in  
maner ruler of them all. For as moch as all men for the moost  
part were displeased w Jugurth & soze murmured agaynst  
his cruelte & agaynst þ parciall fauour shewed to hym at Ro-  
me: & also for that þ messagers of Jugurth besought the em-  
bassado's to hast them to Numidie therfore þ third day after  
theyz comission they deyted from Italy / & toke shypynge & in  
short tyme after arived in Affrike / at a cite named Utica in a  
prouince subiect to the romans. Alstone as they were aryued  
they sende letters vnto Jugurth chargyng hym in al hast to  
come to the sayd prouince to knowe the pleasure of the sena-  
tors of Rome whiche had sende them thyder for the nonys  
with certen commanementes dyrect vnto hym.

**H**is literis recitatio  
fuere qui exercitu i  
Aphricam mittere  
dum decernerent: q̄ pri-  
mum Adherbal subueni-  
endum. interim de Jugur-  
tha consulteretur quoniam  
legatis non parueret. sed  
ab ipsis regis futoribus  
summa ope enixum  
est ne tale decretum fies-  
set: ita bonum publicum  
(vt plerisque negotiis sol-  
let) priuata gratia deuia-  
tur. Legantur tamen in  
Aphrica maiores natu-  
nobiles amplis honoribus  
vsi: in quis fuit Mar-  
cus Emilius Scaurus de  
quo supra memorauimus:  
homo cōsularis: & tum in  
senatu potens princeps.

Hi q̄ Jugurth res in in-  
uidia erat: simulet a Nu-  
midis obsecrati: triduo i  
nauem ascendere. Dein-  
de breui Uticam appulsi  
literas ad Jugurthā mit-  
tunt q̄ occissime ad prouia-  
ciam accedat: seq̄ ad eum  
ab senatu missos.

## The batayle

Ille ubi homines claros  
quosq; autoritate Romae  
pollere audierat contra  
inceptū suū venisse acce-  
pit: primo cōmotus metu  
atq; libidine diuersus agi-  
tabatur. Timebat irā se-  
natus ni paruisset legat;. Porro animus cæcus cu-  
pidine ad inceptū rapie-  
bat. Vicit tamen in auido  
ingenio prauū cōsilium.

Igitur exercitu cōparato  
luna vi Cirtham irrūpe-  
re nitid maxime sperans  
diducta manu hostiū aut  
vi, aut dolis, sese casum  
victoriae inuenturū quod  
ubi secus procedit, negi-  
quod intenderat efficere  
potest ut prius q̄ legatos  
cōueniret: Adherbale pos-  
tulatne amplius morādo  
Scaurum: quem plurimū  
metuebat: incenderet: cū  
paucis equitibus in pro-  
vinciam venit.

Ac tametsi senatus verbū  
mine graues nunciabant  
q; ab oppugnatione Cir-  
thæ non desisteret: multa  
tamen oratiōe cōsumpta  
legati frustra discessere.  
Ea postq; Cirthæ audita  
sunt: Italici: quorum vir-  
tute mœnia defēbant,  
cōfili deditiōe facta pro-  
pter magnitudinem po-  
puli Romani inuiolatos  
sese fore.

Adherbali suadent uti se  
et oppidum Iugurthę trā-  
dat: tantum ab eo vitam  
paciscatur, cæteris sena-  
tui curam fore.

Whan Jugurth understood that such noble men/famous / &  
of preeminent authorite at Rome were come to prophbit his  
interprise/ at first begynnyng he was somewhat trubled with  
dredē/on the other part his lust was moche kyndled to wyne  
the towne of Cirtha/ and to get Adherball into his hedes/ and  
so was his mynde diuerly distract with dredē & desyre: with  
dredē of the embassadours/ and with desyre to bryng his pur-  
pose to effect. Greatly he feared the angre & displeasur of the  
senatours if he dyd nat obey theyz embassadours: but his  
mynde on the other part was bitterly blynded by lust of domi-  
nion/ whiche desyre dredē hym violently to perorme that he  
had begon. And so at conclusion in such mynde desyrous of  
lordshyp/ the wō:st counsell overcame the best. And couetise  
excluded feare: and thus he determined in mynde to wyn the  
towne (if he myght) before he wold go to cōmen with the em-  
bassadours. This thyng determined and fixed in mynde he  
compased the towne about with his army: and with great  
violence assayled it contendyng to breke in thereto: this dyd  
he:trulyng that namely: by diuidyng of his army on all sy-  
des of the towne/ and compellyng his ennemis within the  
towne to breke theyz hole company for to defende the walles  
assayled on all parties/ he myght at last by such meanes wyn  
victory ouer them. But after many & sharpe assautes at last  
whan he sawe his purpose proceded nat to effect/ and that he  
was nat of power to haue his pleasure of the towne & of Ad-  
herball before he shulde cōmen with the embassado's/ he was  
right pensyue in mynde. And leſt his plongyng might angre  
Scaurus p̄ chefe of the embassado's whom he greatly dread;  
at last he came into the prouince with a small cōpany of hors-  
men. Alone as he was come the embassadours shewed unto  
hym many greuous manaces & wordi of displeasour in name  
of all the senate: bycause he cessed nat for all theyz cōmaunde-  
mentes from besiegyng of the towne of Cirtha / but at cōclu-  
sion aft moch cōmunicacion spent in bayne: the embassado's  
departed agayn to Rome: without any dyreccyon or apoyntmēt  
made. Whan tidynges herol came to Cirtha such as defended  
the towne were moch abashed/ but Adherball most of all. At  
last the Italiāns/ of whome many were within h̄ towne: and  
by whose strength the walles were cheſely defended/ began to  
thyngke among themſelvē p̄ if the towne were pelded up to Ju-  
gurth/ he durst nat be ſo bolde to ſhewe any violence agaynst  
them for the honour & mageſte of the name of Romayns. For  
almoche as p̄ ſame Italiāns were couted as romayns in ſuche  
dyuises they came to Adherball & hym aduised to yeilde hym  
ſelue & the towne to Jugurth upon apoyntment & condicion

that the same Jugurth onely wolde promyse to graunt hym his lyfe: and as touchyng all other iniuries which Jugurth had done to hym/ the senatours whan they shuld se tyme oportune & conuenient wolde se a dyreccyon and remedy: And herball beryng this counsell/ anone cosydred in his mynde that nothyng coude be more vnstable nor more incertayne / than was the promysse of Jugurth. Agayn he called to mynd that if he accorded nat to theyz counsell it was in theyz power to compell hym thereto. And so accordyng to theyz aduisement he yeldeþ vp the towne to Jugurth vpon promyse onely to haue his lyfe saued. But anone Jugurth contrary to his pmyssle put Adherball to deth first of all with manyfolde tourmées. After that he slewe all the yonge and lusty men of the towne/ bothe Numidians & Italiens marchauntes indifferently: sparing non namely if they were founde in harness.

**C**how the senatours certifyed of this cruelte of Jugurth prepared an army agaynst hym: howe the embassadours of Jugurth were nat receyued into Rome: and howe Calphurnius the romayn captayne was acloyed by brybes of Jugurth.

**C**he. xvii. chapter.

**U**an this cruelte of Jugurth was known at Rome the senato's beganne to take conseil what thyng was best to be done in the case. But they whose fauour Jugurth had bought before sore disturbed the couisell/ and plonged theyme with fayre wordes & prayer somtyme: somtyme with fauorable promyses made to other lordes: And other whyle wbraulyng and thretynge couertly. Insomuche that by suche meanes: at last they alayed the displeasur taken agaynst Jugurth & mitigated the cruelte of his dedes. And certaynly all the yll wyll and hatred whiche was taken agaynst Jugurth shuld vetterly haue ben let fall & quenched by dryuyng forth the tyme in couisellyng: had nat ben the resylence & repugnaunce of one named Caius Memmius: So great was the power of the fauour & treasure of Jugurth. This Memmius was elect and assigned to be protectour of the cōmens for the pere next insuyng & was a man sharpe and fiers of cōdicions/ and agaynst the power of the noble men of Rome wll his myght: and therfore whan he sawe this vntesonable fauour & partieſite among the senatours he informed the cōmen people that the senatours were about to pardon the cruelte of Jugurth/ by couetysse and corruption of a fewe debatefull lordes. The cōmenty vnderstanding this/ was soze moued agaynst

At ille: tametsi oia potiora fide Jugurtha rehatur/ tamen quia penes eosdē si aduersaretur: cogendi. potestas erat: ita ut censuerant Italici: deditio nem facit.

Jugurtha imprimis Adherball excruciatū necat, deinde oēs puberes Numidas/ atq; negotiatorēs promiscue/ vt quisque armatus obuius fuerat, interfecit.

**Q** Vod postq; Rom cognitū est et res in senatu agitari cepit: s; idem ministri regi interpellādo/ ac saepe gratia interdum iurgij/ strahendo tempus atrocitas tem facti leuabant.

**A**ni Caius Memmius, Tribunus plebis designatus/ vir acer et intestus potentia nobilitatis/ populum romanum edocuit/ id agi: vt per paucos factiosos Jugurtha seclus condonare f, profecto oīs iniuria in prolatādis cōsultationibus dilapsa foret. Tanta vis gratiae, atq; pecunia regis erat,

Sed ubi senatus delici

## The batayle

conscientia populum timent; lege Sempronia prouincia futuris cōsulibus Numidia, atq; Italia de-  
creta sunt.

Cōsules declarati Publi-  
Scipio Nasica, Lucius  
Calphurnius Bestia, Cal-  
phurnio Numidia, Scipi-  
oni Italia obuenit. De-  
inde exercit\* qui i Aphri-  
cam portaretur: scribitur:  
stipendium aliaq; qua bel-  
lo vsui foret/decernuntur.  
At Iugurtha cōtra spem  
nuncio accepto (quippe  
cui oia venumire Romæ  
in animo heserat) filium  
et cū eo duos familiares  
ad senatū legatos mittit.  
Hijsq; vt illis quos His-  
empseal interfecto misere-  
rat: precepit omnis mor-  
tales vti pecunia aggredi-  
diantur.

Qui postq; Romam adue-  
tabant: senatus a Bestia  
consultus est: placaret ne  
legatos Iugurthā recipi

the senatours & counsell. And the senatours agayne soze se-  
ret the cōmens: bycause of the offences bothe of Jugurth and  
of them infauouring hym were openly knownen: therfore they  
dradde lest all the cōmens loyned togyder myght make insur-  
rection agaynst them: wherfoze they thought it necessary to  
pacify and alay the cōmens. Nowe it was so that long before  
this tym a noble man of Rome named Sempronius whyle  
he was in authozite made a statute and lawe that if it fortun-  
ned at any tyme: that the Romayns stode in doute and feare  
lest any warre or batayle myght come vpon them sodenly /  
newe cōsuls than shulde be chosen & assigned for the next pere  
to come / and send into suche prouynces where the batayle or  
warre was feared. These cōsuls were thus chosen before the  
pere of the olde cōsuls was fully extryed to thintent that in  
meane tyme they myght haue moze tyme and layset to make  
conuenient prouisyon for the warre: And this act so decreed  
was called the lawe of Sempronius bycause he first inacted  
the same. By this lawe of Sempronius: the two prouynces  
of Numidy and Italy were decreed to the two cōsuls for the  
pere to come. The prouince of Italy to be defended & conser-  
ued: and the prouince of Numidy to be recouerd (Scipio Na-  
sica) (and Calphurnius Bestia) were proclaimed Cōsuls for  
the next pere cōmyng. The lande of Numidy came by lotte to  
Calphurnius that he shulde do his diligence to recouer the  
same / and h̄ country of Italy fell to Scipio to defendi h̄ same.  
After this an army was assembled to be sende into Africke / &  
so forth to Numidy: wages / and batayles for the sowdyours  
with other thynges nedefull to warre/ were decreeed of the se-  
natours / and payded of the cōsull Calphurnius. But whan  
Jugurth herd tidyngh from his frēdes at Rome of this ordyn-  
aunce / & perceyued that h̄ mater went froward other wylle tha  
he trusted it shulde haue done. For his mynde was fixed h̄ all  
thyng ryght & wrong myght be bought & sold at Rome: nowe  
went he in hand agayn with his olde craftes / and sende his  
sonne w other two of his moost familier & trusty frends em-  
bassadours vnto the senatours. And lyke as he had cōmaunded  
those embassado's whome he had sende to Rome after he  
had murdred H̄epsall: right so he cōmaunded these that they  
shuld go in hande to stope every mānes mouth w money. For  
in his great treasour & in couetyse of th̄ rulers of Rome was  
all his confidence. O cursed hunger of golde most execrable:  
thou drwest blynde myndes to yls innumerable. Whan these  
embassadours of Jugurthe were come nere to Rome: the  
consull Calphurnius demaunded advise and counsell of the  
senatours whyther it pleased them that the sayd embassado's

shuld be receyued within the walles of Rome or nat. But the senatours deccred/that except they came to yelde bothe Jugurth & the kyngdome of Numidye vnto þ Romains: vpon a greate payne they shuld depart out of þ countrey of Italy vnto þ dayes next after. Calphurnius comauied this ordinance & deccree of þ senatores to be boþne & declared to the Numidias by one named Decius. And so thembassado's departed home agayne without any thyng done wherfore they came. In the meane tyme Calphurnius prepared his armes: & chose vnto hym noble men/ debatfull/ and hauynge many clentes and seruantes retayned with them. This dyd he to thintēt that if he dyd any thyng amyse in his viage: he myght trust to be supþported by theyz authorite. Among whōe was named Scaurus: of whose condicions and behauour I haue spoken before. But in this cōsull Calphurnius/ were many good propertis and vertuous condicions/ boþe of mynd: & body: but the cur sed vice of couetyse whiche was in hym: blynded & ouercame all those vertues: so that he put them nat i execucion: he myght well indure labout / his wyt was quicke & p̄gnant: he was prouident & ware ynough / In batayle he was so expert that in grettest paryll he was boldest and strongest agaynst gyles of his ennemis. But to our purpose/this Calphurnius whan he had elect & assembled suche company as hym thought competent for an army/he deuyded all his hoost into legiōns/ con taþnyng in every legion. vi. M. vi. C. ix. & sic men. And so sende forth is men by legiōns by þ countrey of Italy/ to a towne called Regium/ which towne is i the marches bytwene Italy & Cæsare: from this towne of regiu they were couayed into Ce cile into Afrike/ and there they mustred and were set in array/ and so proceded by lande tyll they attayned vnto Numidye. Anone Calphurnius prepared vitaples and all maner ordynances requisite / and proceded forwarde/ assaylyng fierstly the lande of Numidye/ as a hardy captayne/ pretendyng great valyantise at the first brunt. Many men toke he prisoners/ and a few townes he subdued vnto hym: suche as resydeth his power he brent them / to the grounde to increase fere to theyz neigbours. Jugurth aduertying this sharpnes of Calphurnius send embassadours to hym w great plenty gl̄ gold to accept his mynde/ and shewed vnto hym þ hardnes & diffi culte of the warre whiche he had begon. Whan Calphurnius felte the wight and valour of the glystryng golde/his corrupt and vnstable mynde by contagion of couetyse/anone was per uerted to receyue the money/ and induced to fauour and assill the part of Jugurth. But Scaurus (of whome I haue spoken before) was receyued vnto them for partener and felowe

menibus. Hic decreuerent  
ni regnum/ ipsumq; dedi-  
tum venissent vti diebus  
in proximis decem Italia  
decederent.

Consul Numidis ex sena-  
tus decretu nunciari ius-  
bet. Ita infectis rebus il-  
li domū dīscendunt. Inte-  
rim Calphurnius parato  
exercitu legit sibi hoies  
nobiles/ factiosos/ quorū  
auctoritate quę deliquis-  
set munita fore sperabat  
In quibꝫ fuerat Scaurus  
de cuius natura et habitu  
supra memorauimus,  
Nam in consule nō mul-  
te boneq; artes animi et  
corporis erant: quas om-  
nis auaricia prepediebat  
patiens laborum: acri in-  
genio: satiſ prouidens:  
belli haud ignarus: for-  
tissimus contra pericula  
et insidiās. Sed legiones  
per Italiam Rheatū: atq;  
inde in Siciliam. Porro  
ex Sicilia in Africam  
transuete sunt,

Igitur Calphurnius i ini-  
cio paratis cōmeatis bus  
acriter Numidiā aggres-  
sus est, multos mortalis  
et v̄bes aliquot pugnan-  
do capit.

Sed ybi Jugurtha p lega-  
tos pecunia tentare, bel-  
lic quod administrabat  
asperitatē ostendere co-  
pit, animo eger auaricia  
facile conuersus est,

Ceterum socius et mini-  
ster omnium consiliorum

## The batayle

assumitur Scaurus: qui tam  
met si a principio plerisque  
ex factione ei corruptis  
acerime regem impugnat:  
batrum magnitudine pecu-  
niae a bono honestoque in-  
prauim abstractus est.

Sed Jugurtha primū bel-  
li tantummodo moram re-  
dimebat: existimans sese  
aliquid interim Romae  
preciosum aut gratia effe-  
ctum. Postea vero q[uod] par-  
ticipem negotijs Scäu-  
rum accepit: i maximum  
spem adductus recuperan-  
de pacis: statuit cū eis de  
omnibus pactionibus pre-  
sens agere.

Ceterū interea fidei cau-  
sa mittitur a cōsule Sex-  
tius questor in oppidum  
Jugurthae Vaccam: cuius  
rei species erat acceptio  
frumenti: quod Calphurnius  
palam legatis impe-  
rauerat: quoniam deditio-  
nis mora inducie agita-  
bantur.

Igitur rex (vti constitue-  
rat) in castra perueuit ac  
paucā presenti cōsilio lo-  
cutorū de inuidia facti sui  
atq[ue] vti i ditionem ac-  
cipiteretur:

reliqua cū Bestia et Scäu-  
ro seceret transegit.

Deinde

of al theyz counsels & busynesses. And howbeit at begynnyng  
this same Scaurus strongly resisted the party of Jugurth:  
what tyme many other of his sect were corrupt and accloyed  
w[ith] bribes long before this: nevertheles now at last his mynde  
was abstract lyke other mo from the defence of goodnes and  
honesty unto his olde vice of insacieable & execrable couetyse  
by meane of habundance of gold and great rewardes of Ju-  
gurth. But at first begynnyng this Jugurth redemed of Cal-  
phurnius but onely delayng and deferring of the warre: tru-  
styng that in meane tyme he shuld bryng about somewhat of  
his purpose at Rome other by price / prayer or fauour. But  
nowe after he had won Scaurus to be partner of his busi-  
nes and fauouer of his cause also with Calphurnius: he was  
brought into a very great trust fully to recouer his peace at  
Rome: and concluded whyle both Calphurnius & Scaurus  
were there present togyder to take aduise met & treat presely  
with them of all apoyntmet & thyngs necessary to be done for  
þourmyng of his purpose. Howbeit he trusted nat Calphur-  
nius so moche that he wolde come to his army except some  
hostag[ue] of the Romayns were left within some strong towne  
of his: in warde of his people wherby he myght trust with-  
out damage sauely to be remitted agayn to his army. Cal-  
phurnius to auoyd this dought of Jugurth & to put hym in  
more assurance send the treasurer of the Romayne army na-  
med Hertius / unto one of the cheste townes belongyng to Ju-  
gurth called Vacca / saynypng amone the army that he sent  
the sayd treasurer thither for prouision of whete & other vi-  
tayls necessary to his hoost. And the same comaundement to  
prouyde vitayls the captayn Calphurnius gaue to his trea-  
surer openly in comen audience: to thintker that no man shuld  
suspect his false purpose: sayeng to his treasurer that hym  
neved nat to be in dout of Jugurth / for as moch as trues were  
taken bytwene bothe parties tyll a certayn day prefixed. The  
treasurer Hertius went to the sayd cyte of Vacca at com-  
maundement of Calphurnius his captayne. Wherfore anone  
after Jugurth (lyke as he apoynted before) came to the army  
of Calphurnius / and there in presence of the rulers & counsell  
of the Romains / spake a lytell of his purgacion / concernyng  
the displeasure / envy / & hatredde / whiche the senate and com-  
mens of Rome had taken agaynst hym for his dedes: sayeng  
that he had noughe done but prouoked of his ennemis / and  
for his owne defens: with violence to respyst violence. Howe-  
beit he sayd that he was contented to yelde & submit hym selfe  
unto the Romayns clemence and mercy. Somoch spoke he  
openly before all the cheste couzell of the army. But all the ce-  
menaunt he

menaunt he concluded and dyd secretly with Calphurnius & Scæurus at more leasure/ and thus ended þ comunicacion of this day. On the next day after insuyng the captayne and the counsell of the army / & also Jugurth assembled togyder agayn to common of the same mater concernyng peace to be graunted to Jugurth. Howe was it so that at Rome was decreed an ordinaunce long before this tyme named among the comayns the Satyre lawe/ whiche lawe comaunded that the captayne of euery armie shulde aske aduyse of all the wylle counsell of his hoost whan he went about any weythy mater cōcernyng the comen wele. Wherfoze Colphurnius thought so to order hymselfe that he shulde nat be counted a brecare of this lawe: And desyred counsell & aduise of all the noble and wylle men of his hoost. This dyd he to thyntēt that if the peace graunted to Jugurth shulde be afterward dysallowed at Rome (as it was) he myght auoyde the faute from hymselfe into the comon couzell. But at coelustion/ whan Calphurnius acoz, dyng to the sayd lawe had requyred aduyse of the common couzell: euery man cōsented that peace shulde be graunted to Jugurth: vpon codicion & cōuenant that he shulde delyuer vnto the comayns thettie Elyphantes with moche other ca-tell and many hoxes with a great somme of golde. To which ordinaunce Jugurth acorded and soone after delyuered the same Elyphantes/ catell/ and hoxes & golde vnto the tresou-ter of the Romayne hoost. This done þ consull Calphurnius departed to Rome to requyze the senatours & other rulers to cōferme this peace & cōcorde whiche they had made with Jugurth. In meane tyme ouer all Numydij and also in the Romayne armie was peace and cōcorde in abydyng the answere of the senate and rulers at Rome. 

**C**howe the rulers of Rome for the moost parte were greuously displeased for graunting of this peace: and disallowed the same. And how Meminius inflamed the comen people agaynst the fauourers of Jugurth. **C**Chapter. xviii.

**I**t after it was knowen at Rhome in what maner the consull had behaued hymselfe in affrike with Jugurth: in euery place about Rome/ and among every company within Rome it was cōmyned of the dede of Calphurnius. In somoche that among the començyng was rapsed greuous hate, red & displeasure agaynst hym. The senato's were so zealous Jugurth.

C. I.

Deinde postero die quasi per satyram legem sentētijs exquisitis in deditio-nem accipitur.

Sed ut pro consilio imp-  
atum erat: elephanti tri-  
ginta pecus / atque equi  
multi non cum paruo ar-  
gento pondere questori  
traduntur.

Calphurnius tamam ad  
magistratus rogados pro-  
ficietur.

In Numidia et in exerci-  
tu nostro pax agitabaf,

**P**ctiq autem res in A-  
phrica gestas et quo-  
modo acte forent fa-  
ma diuulgauit. Rome p-  
omnis locos et conuentos  
de facto consulis agitaris  
apud plebem grauis ini-  
dia orta est. Patres solici-  
tierant an probarent ta-  
tum flagitium an decre-

## The batayle

tum cōsulis subuerterēt:  
parum constabat. At ma-  
xime eos potentia Scau-  
ri q̄ is auctor et socius  
Bætie ferebat a vero bo-  
nuq; impediebat.

At Caius Mēmius: de cuius  
libertate ingenij / et  
odio potētie nobilitatis  
supradiximus interdus-  
bitationem: et moras se  
natus in concionibus po-  
pulum ad vendicandum  
hortari: monere populū  
romanum ne libertatem  
suam desererent: crude-  
lia et superba multa faci-  
nora nobilitatis ostende-  
re: prorsus intentus ome-  
mino plebis animum ac-  
cendebat.

Sed quoniam ea rēpesta-  
re Rome Memmij facun-  
dia clara / pollens que fu-  
it decere existimauit vna  
(ex tā multis) orationem  
eius prescribere: ac potissi-  
mum eam dicam quā in  
cōcione post redditum bes-  
tie huiuscmodi verbis  
dixerunt.

**M**ulta me dehortant  
a vobis querites: ni-  
si studium rei publi-  
cæ omnia superet: opes fa-  
ctionis: vestra patientia:  
tus nullum: ac maxime q̄  
innocentie plus periculi  
q̄ honoris est.

bled & were in doute whyther they myght cōferme and alowe  
this foule and shamefull dede of the consull / or els abrogate  
and annull the same. In this perplexite they were longe tyme  
uncertayne: And moost of all the myght and power of Scau-  
rus (bycause he was a doer and felowe with the consull in the  
sayd dede) let them frome discussyng of the ryght. But whyle  
the senatours in suchē wylle prolonged the tyme. In this dis-  
cussion Memmius (of whose condicions / promptnes of  
wytte / and hatered: whiche he had agaynst the power of the  
estates and noble men we haue written before) at dyuers ty-  
mes he assembled the cōmon people / exhortyng & inflamyng  
them to reuenge the cruelte of Jugurth / and partialite of his  
lauourers / & warning them nat to forslake the defence of their  
cōmen wylle and libertie of theyr cite. He rebuked vnto them  
the pride / the cruelte / & manyfolde unlawfull dedes of the se-  
natours & of other estates at many tymes done to diswochyp  
and oppression of the cōmen wele. And bterly at conclusion  
so he behaued hymselfe that he kynded the myndes of the vnt-  
uersall cōmentie to resyst the partialyte of the estates / and to  
se the cruelte of Jugurth extremely punyshed. But bycause  
the eloquence of this Memmius at that season was at Rome  
notable and mocheset by/dyscretēs of great autorite: I ha-  
ue intended of so many exhortacions as he had to the people:  
to cōmyt one to remembrance by wrytinge: And specially be-  
fore all other I wyll wryte that exhortacion which after retur-  
nyng of Calphurnius from Africke the sayd Memmius spake  
before the cōmen people in fourme folowynge.

**C**he orison of Memmius had before the com-  
men people of Rome. In whiche orison he indu-  
ceth them to defēde their lyberte: And to represse  
and persecute with hatered the noble men of Ro-  
me.

## C The. ix. Chapter.

**R**Ight worthy cetyzins many thyngs  
shulde withdrawe metrom defence of you and  
from charge & medlyng with your busynesses  
were nat the great loue & fauour whiche I haue  
to the commen wele: that causeth me to sette a  
syde all suchē impedimentes / and bterly to take vpon me the  
defence of your lyberte agaynst these corrupt estates. More  
playnly to ascertayne you: the thynges whiche myght with-  
drawe me from defence of your cause be these. First the power  
of them which are begynners of this variaunce: that is to say of

## of Jugurth.

**Calphurnius and Scaturus.** Secondly your paciece which is easie to be subdued of cructie: sith ye be disposed to endure this wronge. And thysdyl the infection of Justice whiche is no where here among vs/but clene eryled from oure cite. And principally this letteþ me soz that I se you so innocent/so fesble mynded/and so symple that in every place ye ar sure of all the peryll/of all the laboure/and of all the Payne: but these estates whiche do nougþt that is comendable haue all the honour/auantage/and woþhyppe. And soþly: it greeueth me to speke to you of the iniury that now of late hath ben done to you: howe moche ye haue ben had in Skorne detision/and in dysdayne: to the power and pride of a fewe estates. And also it greeueth to recount howe bnteuenged many of your defenders by them haue shamefully ben put to deth for your sake within these sytene yeres. And to se howe your myndes be corrupt with cowardyse and negligence that ye wolde never socoure them whiche in your quarell and defence haue subdued themselves to deth. What intende ye: wylle ye styl be subgetto unto these estates your ennemys. It is surely tyme at the last to araye and defende your libertie/ ye do brede them: whome it semeth to dout and to brede you confyderyng your true querell/ and they vngoodly mydoemeanour. But nat withstanding that ye be thus disposed to lose your libertie & in mystry to passe for the p[ro]cessyde of your lyues/ neuertheles the good wylly/ whiche I haue to you and to the commen wele caufeth and dryueth my mynde to resyst this fals fauoure and parcialyte of these proude and vniuste lordes. Certes I shall alay and proue howe I can defende the libertie whiche my father left me: but whyther I shall so do to auantage or elles in wayne that lyeth hole in your handes and powet. Surely worthy citezins I do nat exhort you to withstande these wronges and oppresions with force of armes as our foreshathers haue often done. To resyst and repell this wronge nedeth no violence no deuydynge of you from the senatours as your elders haue done before tyme. It must nedis be that these great men cōfederat in malice at last shall come to decay by theyz owne condicions and insolent behauour.

¶ Were nat sharpe inquisitions and greuous examinacions had agaynst the commen people of Rome/ after that Tiberius Gracchus was slayne for the defence of the lawes belongynge to the commentie: whome his euylwyllies accused as bluper of kyngdome ouer the commen people. And moreouer after that Catus Gracchus and Marcus Fulvius were put to deth for defendyng of your libertie/ were nat many of your order and behauoure that is to say of the commentie put to deth

Jugurth.

C. II.

Nam illa quidem piget dicere: his annis quindicim q[uod] ludibri fuertis superbie paucorum q[uod] fedelitate multi perirent vestri defesores: ut nobis animus ab ignavia atque secordia corruptus sit: qui ne nunc quidem obnoxij inimicis exurgitis.

Atque etiam nunc timetis eos: quibus terrori decet esse. Sed quod haec talia sunt: tamen obuiam are potentiæ factionis animus subegit.

Certe ego libertatem (que mihi aparente meo tradita est) experiar. Verum id frustra/ an ob rem faciat in vestra manu situm est. Neque vos hortor/ quod sepe vestri maiores fecerunt contra iniurias armati eatis: nihil vi nec secessione opus est: necesse est suomet ipsis more precipites eant.

Ociso Tiberio Graccho (quem regnum parate homines aiebant) in plebis romanam graues habentes sunt quæstiones. Post Caij Gracchi et Marci Fulvius cedam: item vestri ordinis multi mortales i carcere necati sunt. Utruusque clavis non lex verum

## The batayle

libido eorum finem fecit.  
Sed sane fuerit regni re-  
paratio plibi sua iura re-  
stituere quicquid sine sa-  
guine ciuium vlcisci ne-  
quit intre factum sit.

Superioribus annis taci-  
ti indignabamini erariū  
expilari: reges et popu-  
los liberos paucis nobili-  
bus vnguali pendere: pe-  
nes eosdem et sumam gli-  
am et maximas diuitias  
esse: talia facinora im-  
pune suscepisse parum ha-  
buerit.

Itaq; postremo leges/mag-  
estas v̄a diuina et hu-  
mana oīa hostibus tradic-  
ta sunt.

Neque qui ea fecere pu-  
derunt pānitēt: sed inces-  
dunt perora vestra ma-  
gnifice: sacerdotia et cō-  
sulatus: pars triumphos  
suis ostentantes: perinde  
quasi ea honori non pre-  
de habeant.

Seruitate comparati ins-  
usta imperia dñorum nō  
perunt. Vos quirites in  
imperio rati: quo animo  
territutem toleratis.  
At qui sunt hi: qui répu-  
blicam occupauere: hos-  
annites sceleratissimi: cru-  
entis manibus immi-  
nuntia: nocentissimi:  
iudicemq; superbissimi: qui-  
bus decus: fid̄s: pietas:  
postremo honesta: atq; in-  
honestia oīa questui sunt.

or murtherd in prison: And at bothe the seasors the estates  
made none ende of theyz cruelle agaynst you after the lawes  
but after theyz immoderate pleasure. Well forsothe I graunt  
that it be reputed for treason and usurpacion of a kynge domē  
to defende the lawes and the ryght of the communitie: and I  
graunt also that what thyng can nat be cōvygnely punysshed  
without effusyon of blode of many citczins: hat the same pu-  
nishment be executed accordyng to lawe and ryght vpon  
a fewe such as were begynneth of the trespassse. Within these  
fewe yeres passed ye dysdayned & murmured secretly among  
your selfe that thesayd lordes spoyle the commen treasoute  
without your consent: And that kynges and nacions contrys  
butox to Rome payed theyz tributes to a fewe priuate esta-  
tes/ and nat generall to the vniuersall cite in commen: and ye  
grutched that these estates hadde all the most dignite and all  
the rychesse & treasoure also in theyz handes. Neverthelesse  
they couide but a small thyng to escaye vnpunysshed for these  
so great offences. Wherfore now are they become so holde/ so  
fiers/ and proude: by your sufferance that at laſt they haue  
betrayed and put in handes of your ennemis/ your lawes/  
your dignite/ your mageste/ withall other thynges bothe the hu-  
mane and diuine to your libertie belongyng. So that in  
pardonyng of these inhumayne & cruell offences of Jugurtha  
they haue polluted & betrayed the lawes bothe of god & man.  
And howbeit that such is theyz demeanour it nothyng repen-  
teth them: nor they be noughe ashamed de therof. But dayly  
sette before your faces solemnly and pompously bostryng them  
selfe: Some of theyz dignities/ theyz lordshypes/ and offi-  
cies. And other some crakyng of theyz triumphes and victo-  
ries/ as who sayeth that they attayned the same by honoure/  
and nat by falsehodde and robberie. Haue ye nat dayly expe-  
rience leyng that symple bondmen bought & sold for money  
wyll nat suffre nor endure the vniust commaundementes of  
theyz lordes or maisters. But contrarywyse ye gentylmen: free  
borne cetezyns ar contented to suffre with mke myndes this  
bondage wherin ye are holden subgette by the power of these  
lordes. But I pray you what maner of men be these whiche  
thus subdue you/ and presume thus longe to occupy the com-  
men wayle at this season: forsothe they be men most vicious/  
with bloody handes infected/ with the blode of innocentes.  
Men of immoderate and insaciable covetise: noysom & gre-  
uous to euery god man. Whose pride incredyble no man can  
comprehende/ which for money haue solde and dayly are redy  
for to sell for luce: theyz fidelite/ theyz worshyppe/ theyz deuoci-  
yon/ and good name: And brefely all thynges honest & dishon-

nest are they redy to do for auantage. Wherby it apereth evidently that all they; ioye & felicite resteth in couerte. Some of them count themselfe more assured bycause they haue slayne the protectours of the commentie to the intent that other may dредe them so moche more: And other some of them in wrong examinacions & inquisitions had agaynst you retayse and count them selfe hardye & surer therby: And many other thynketh they; defence and auauncement in murding of you boylng them selfe of the same: and thus howe moche wors that eche of them doth: the more sure he is & more sette by. In somoch that where they ought to fere you for they; mysoedes: they transpose that feare vnto you / and cause you by your cowardysse to feare and dредe them: whiche are conioyned all togidre agaynst you i one maner desyre of yll / in one maner couerte / in one hateredde of good / and in one maner fere of your auancemēt: but among good men to be all of one mynd under this maner one nat withstandyng an other it is to be counted for amyte and frendshyppe. Amonge yll mensuche agreyng of maners is but a knotte of discorde and causeth sedycyon/batiauce/and debate. But verily if ye had so great desyre and care to recouer your lyverte (which is lost) as they haue to encrease they; lordshyppe: than shulde nat the comen wele be oppresed and wasted as it is nowe: and than shulde the offices/mastershippes/and dignitez of Rome (whiche ar your benefites to gyue where lyketh you) be in the handes of good & vertuous men/and nat in the handes of bold boysters and iniust men confederate in myschefē. The comentie of Rome your fo:efathers before this tymē haue armed themselfe and forsaken the senato's two sondry tymes & kepe themselfe togidre vpon the hyll of Iduentyne/only bycause the wold haue a lawe decreed & inacted for them: And masters or offisers elect for them which shulde be they; protectours agaynst the iniury and extorcion of the estates whan nedē shulde requyze/whiche thyng at last was graunted to them and many other lyberties also. Than shulde nat ye laboure moche more withall your myght for consuetacion of the same lyberties whiche they haue left vnto you as hole as euer they had them: And specially for this cause ought ye to defende your priuileges for that it is more shame and rebuke to lese the priuileges and lybertie gotten than never to haue optayned them: And specially what shame is it to you nothyng to augment nor encrease that authorite/ whiche your elders & fo:efathers haue left to you:but to suffre yllame by your cowardysse by lytell and lytell to dekay: and at laste vitterly to be loste and come to nougħt. But any of you may than requyze of me what is po<sup>2</sup>

Jugurth.

C. lli.

<sup>cōz</sup>  
Pars occidisse tribunos  
plebis: alijs questiones in-  
justas: plerique tēdem in  
vos fecisse pro munimen-  
to habent.

Iaque q̄tum quisq; pes-  
sime fecit tā maxime tu-  
tus est: metū a scelere suo  
ad ignauiam vestram trā-  
stulere: quos omnis eadē  
cupere: eadem odisse: ea-  
dem metuere in vnum co-  
egit. Sed hac inter bonos  
amicitia: inter malos fa-  
ctio est.

Q: si tantam vos curam  
libertatis haberetis: q̄ il-  
li ad dominationē accen-  
si sunt: profecto: negi res  
publica (sicuti nunc) va-  
statur: et beneficia ve-  
stra penes optimos nō au-  
dacissimos forent.

Maiores vestri parandi  
iuris et magestatis cōsti-  
tuende gratia, per seces-  
sionem armati: bis Auens-  
tinū montem occupauen-  
te: vos pro libertate quā  
ab illis accepistis: nōne sū-  
ma ope nitemini: atq; eo  
vehētentius: q̄ maius des-  
decus est parta amittere/  
q̄ omnino nō paranisse

Dicet aliquis: quid igif

## The batayle

censes? vindicandum in  
eos/ qui hosti prodidere  
tempū: non manu neque  
vix quod magis vobis te-  
cisse: q̄ illis accidisse in-  
dignum est)

Verum questionibꝫ et in-  
dicio ipsius Iugurthꝫ qui  
si deditus est: prosector ius  
suis vestris obedientis erit.

Sine ea cōtemnit: scilicet  
existimabit s qualis illa  
pax aut deditio sit: ex  
qua ad Iugurham sceles-  
rum impunitas: ad paucos  
potentes maxime di-  
uitie: ad tempū. danina  
atque dedecora peruen-  
tint. Nisi fore non dū eti-  
am vos dñationis eorum  
satietas tenet: et illa q̄  
hic tempora magis pla-  
centium regna / prouincie /  
leges / iura / iudicia /  
bella atque paces: postre-  
mo diuina & humana om-  
nia penes paucos erant.  
Vos autem inuidit ab hos-  
tibus imperatores omni-  
um gentium satis habe-  
batis animam retinere.

Nam seruitutem quidem  
quis vestrum recusare au-  
debat.

At ego tametsi virum fla-  
gitiolum existimo ipune  
iniuria accepisse: tñ vos  
hoibus sceleratissimis i-  
gnoscere: in ciues sunt  
quo aio paterer' ni mia i  
perniciem casura esset.  
Nam et illis quantū im-  
portunitatis habent pa-  
rum est impune male fe-  
cisse: nisi facundi licen-  
tia deinde eripiatur.

mynde/what wyll ye that we do? I wyll forsothe and ceſſell  
that punyſhment be taken vpon them whiche haue betrayed  
the honour of the commen wele vnto your ennemy Iugurth/  
without aduyle of the ſenato's or of the cōmenty: but this my  
counſell is nat to punyſhe them violently with your power in  
batayle / for certeſſe that were more dyſhonoure vnto you to  
do than to them to ſuffre the ſame. Nat withstandyng that  
they be worthy ſo to be delt withall. But this thynge may be  
best done by inquyſition / craminacion and cōfession of Ju-  
gurth hymſelfe and by his accuſacion of theſe traitours / whi-  
che Iugurth ſurely wyll be obedient to come hyther to Roome  
at your cōmaudement if it be true that he hath yelded hymſelfe.  
But if he dyspice your commaundementes than may ye well  
thyne and cōſider what peace or yeldynge he hath made by  
the which yeldynge he is vnpunyſhed and pardoned of his de-  
testable and shamefull dedes / and theſe estates laded with ri-  
chesſe and treaſoure. But cur cite and welthe of the cōmenty  
is come to losſe / dammage / and vtter shame and diſworſhapp.  
Thus muſt ye do / ſuche examinacions muſt ye make with-  
out ye thynke that theſe great men haue nat yet ſufficient lord-  
chyppe and power in theyz handes or elſe without ye ſhewe  
outwarde that ye were better pleased and content with that  
ſeaſon whan kyngdomes / prouincies / iuſtices / lawes / iuges  
mentes / batayle / peace / and finally every thynge bothe diuins  
and humayne were in handes of a fewe estates. Than ye be  
nowe pleased with the ſeaſon & tyme that now is whan your  
lybertie is gauen to you whiche ye are able to mayntayne if  
ye ſo be diſpoſed. But in that ſeaſon paſſed / howebeit ye were  
vnouercome of your ennemites maifters / & emperours ouer  
the moſt part of the worlde: yet had ye ynough to do to defens  
de your owne lyfe from the cruelty of theſe fewe mighty men.  
For of you all who was ſo bolde to withſtāde their ſubiection  
& bōdage. Wherefore if ye entend to endure & ſuffre the deſtru-  
ction of your liberte as ye begyn thā truely y tyme which is  
to come ſhalbe moch moze cruell to you than the tyme paſſed.  
But as for me nat withſtādyng that I vnderſtānd the great  
offence and abhominal of this wycked Iugurth is ſufted  
vnpunyſhed: yet wolde I ſuffre paciently that ye ſhulde for-  
gyue & pardon the wicked doers of this dede men moſt vngra-  
cious bycause they be citezins. If it were nat ſo that ſuch mer-  
cy and forgyuenes ſhuld tourne to our diſtruction & ruyne of  
our empire. For ye may ſe howe great oportunitate and ſuffe-  
rance they haue in ſomoche that they count but a ſmall thynge  
to do unhappily without punyſhment. Wherefore they nowe  
daylyen ceale theyz cruelty agaynst you / if ye do nat heras,

ter take from them the power & authorite therof. And specially cōtynall busynes without ende shall remayne unto you whā ye se playnly that outher ye must be seruautes or bondemen: or els ye must retaygne and defende your libertie by strength of your handes. For what hope or trust is there of faithfulness or of concorde byt wene you and them. None surely. For their mynde is vterly set to be lordes ouer you: and ye on the other part wyll nedes be ffe and at liberte. They be extremely inclined and disposed to do w̄ong and injury unto you. And ye laboure to withstande the vterly. And brefely to speke they take the frendes and felowes of our empire for enemis. But our mortall ennemis they take for theyz felowes & frendes. But ye wolde withstande this cursed & vnykynde behauour. Whersfore can ye suppose that peace / loue / or frendshyppe can be among people so contrary of myndes & disposition. For these cōsyderaciōs I warne & exhort you that ye suffrenat so great myschefe to escape vnpunysshed. This offence is nothyng lyke to the robbing of the comon treasour/nor to h̄ spoylyng of money by extorsion fro the felowes & frendes of our empire. Which dedes (howbeit they be greuous & in maner intollerable) neuertheles by custōe & vble of the same they ar reputed for small fautes & for nought. But this dede is moche more greuous and vterly intollerable. For the authorite of the senate is betrayed to our most cruell and fier enemy Jugurth/ your empire is falsly betrayed to other mennes handes and possession. The comen wele hath ben put to sale to Jugurth by h̄ senato's bothe at home in our cite/and also in our army by Calphurnius the cosull: Insomoch that if examinacion be nat made herof: and if they be nat punysshed which be culpas b'e & faultie herin. What thyng shall remayne unto vs but that we must passe our lyfe vnder obedience and bondage of them which thus haue done/and vs shall they kepe in subjection as yf they were kynges. For what thyng longeth to a kyng/ saue to parfourme his wyll and pleasur/be it good or yll without any resystance or punysshment of any man. Do nat these estates thus wout any contradiction/nat withstandyng that it is in your power to withstande the if ye wyll. Nor certes wot thy citizins I do nat thus exhorte you to coueyt rather that your citizins shulde do yll than well. But I speke to thynctē that ye shulde nat so fauour & forberē a fe we intust & yll disposēd men:that the vterre destruction of all good men shulde p̄cede of suche indiscrete fauour: And also namely in a cite or a comen wayle it is moch better and more tollerable to forgerē the rewarde of good dedes/than the punysshment of yll dede. For a good man leyng his goodness nat rewardēd nor set by

Et vobis eterna sollicitus  
do remanebit: quum in-  
telligitis aut seruenda  
et ea ut per manus liber-  
tatem retinendam.

Nam fides quidē aut con-  
cordie qua spes est?

Dñari nū volunt: vos li-  
beri esse: facere illi im-  
munitam: vos prohibere: po-  
stremo socijs nostris velu-  
ti hostibus: hostibus pro  
socijs vruntur: potest ne  
in tam diuersis mentibus  
pax aut amicitia esse?

Quare moneo horroq̄  
vos ne tantum scelus im-  
punitum omittatis. Non  
peculator erat: factus  
est: neque per vim socijs  
crepte pecunie que, q̄ q̄  
grauiā sunt, tamen ex co-  
fuctudine iam pro min-  
lo habentur.

Hosti acerimo prodita  
senatus autoritas: pro-  
ditum imperium vestrum  
est: domi militie que re-  
publica venalis fuit: que  
nisi quesita erunt: et nisi  
si vindicatum in noxiis:  
quid erit reliquā nisi vt  
illis obedientes viuamus/  
quia fecerunt? Nā im-  
pune quodlibet agere: id  
est regem esse.

Neque vos quirites hor-  
tor/ vt malitiis cues ve-  
stros pperā q̄ recte fecimē:  
sed ne ignoscendo malis/  
bonos preditum eatis.

Adhoc in republica mul-  
to prestat beneficij q̄ ma-  
leficij immemorem esse:  
bonus fit tantūmodo fe-  
gnior/vbi negligas: at

## The batayle

malus improbor: ad hoc  
si iniurie non sint: haud  
sepe auxilij egeas.

he dothe but onely withdrawe his owne kyndnes: but an yll  
man nat punysshed is the more bold & curst: And moxeouer  
if such as be myndoers be punysshed/ at the last theyz nombre  
shalbe abated & decreased/ and if there be fewe vnjust men / the  
lesse wrong is done. And he to whome no wronge is done ne-  
veth nat to call for socour nor helpe. Thus it is better to leaue  
a good dede vntwarded/ than an yll dede vnpunysshed.

**C**howe Memmius induced the people of Ro-  
me by the sayd orison: so that Cassius was sent  
for Jugurthe to brynge hym to Rome to declare  
and accuse the supporters of his dedes.

## C The.xx.chapyter.

**H**ec atque alia huius  
cemoni sepe dicen-  
do Memmius popu-  
lo psuader ut Lucius Cal-  
lius qui tum pretor erat:  
ad Iugurtham mitteret:  
eumq; interposita fide pu-  
blica Romā duceret: quo  
facili idicio regis Scau-  
ri et reliquorum quos pe-  
cunte capte arcessebat de-  
lita patfierent,



**E**mmius couisellyng & inducyng  
often tymes by these wordz/ and other lyke  
at last dyde somoch that Lucius Cassius/  
one of the chefe.x. tjudges of Rome shuld be  
sende to Jugurth & assure hym of his lyfe/  
and to come & retourne in saue garde vpon  
promes and sayth of all the hole comonyt of  
Rome. And vpon this promes to bryng hym to Rome to thin-  
ten that by his owne wordes and confession of the treuthe/ the  
falshode & couetyse of Calphurnius the consull/ of Scaurus  
& other whiche had ben coxrupted by hym before by money  
and rewardes myght be euidently proued & knownen.

**C**Of the behauour of the soudyours and other  
whiche were last in Numidie whyle Scaurus  
the consull was at Rome. **C**The.xxi.chap.

**D**vn hēc Rome gerū  
tur: qui in Numidia  
relicti a Bestia exer-  
citui pre erant: sequuti  
morem imperatoris sui  
plurima & flagitiosissima  
facere facinora. suere qui  
auto corrupti elephan-  
tos Iugurtha tradiderent.  
Alij persugas venderent:  
pars expacatis predas a-  
gebant. Tanta vis auar-  
cie animos eorum veluti  
rabes inuaserat.

**H**yle these thynges were in hand and  
done at Rome/ in meane tyme the chefe of þ sou-  
dyours / whiche Calphurnius had lefte behynd  
hym in Numidie folowed the maners and beha-  
uour of theyz captayne & dyde many vngoodly  
and myschewous dedes. Some of them were so corrupt with  
golde that they delyuerd agayne to Jugurth the olyphantes/  
which he had gryuen to Calphurnius what tyme þ peace was  
graunted and trues/ first taken bytwene them. Some other  
solde to Jugurth the traptours whiche had fledde from hym  
vnto the romayns army: And other some spoyled & robbed  
the people of Numidie / whiche had all redy peace with the

Romayns/and had yelded themselfe. So great & shamefull was the violence of couerte which had infected theyr myndis as if it had ben an vniuersall contagion of pestilence. But nowe wyll I returne to my mater where I left before concer- nyng Cassius the iudge and his vyage to Numidie so; to bryng Jugurth vnto Rome.

**C**howe Jugurth came to Rome with Cassius  
and howe he behaued hymselfe therre.

The xxii.chappter.



**A**yus Memmius in name of all the comens gaue comaunderement to Cassius (accordynge to the o: dinaunce inacted) to sped hym toward Numidie/and to bydde Jugurth come to Rome vnder suerte & condicione before rehersed. Whan the estates whiche knewe theselve culpable vnderstode of this they were maruelously abassed. But wham Cassius was come to Jugurth/nat withstandyng that he was erful of his part/and had no confidence in his cause soz alsmoche as he kne we hymselfe fauty in his owne conscience: yet Cassius aduyled hym and induced hym: bycause he had yelded hymselfe to come vnto Rome: without he wolde rather shewe the Romayns strength and violence than theyr mercy and pite: and moreouer the sayd Cassius promised also his owne fayth and trouth that if he wolde come to Rome and answer truly to all suche thynges as thereshulde be demaunded of hym he shulde safely go and come without any impediment. Cassius had so good a name at that tyme that Jugurth had alsmoche confidence in his fayth & promes alone as in the promes of assurance of the hole cite. And so at last Jugurth consented to go to Rome with Cassius. Wherfore to enduce the romayns to the moze pite he arrayed hymselfe in rude aparell agaynst his honour to all moche byle and mysterable: and so with Cassius came to Rome nat as a kyng/but poorly and with a small company. And nat withstandyng that his mynde was moche con firmed/assured/and bolded:by the confor of them whiche he had corrupted with rewardes before vnder whose defencē & supporacion he had compytē so moche cruelty: yet he behaued hym so with his gyftes of newe assone as he was come to Rome/that by his great rewardz he induced a lordē of Rome named Caius Bebius/one of the prectours of the comunity to be supporter & mayntener of his cause among the other mo-

**A**T Cassius perlata rogatione a Cato Memmio ac perculta omni nobilitate ad Iugurham proficisciatur: ei que timido et ex concisenia dissidenti rebus suis persuaderet (quoniam se populo romano dedisset) ne vim q̄ misericordiam experire mallet.

Priuatim præterea fidem suam interponit/qua nō minoris q̄ publicam duebat.

Talis ea tempestate fama de Cassio erat.  
Jugurtha cōtra decus regium/cultu q̄ maxime miserabiliter cum Caiio Rosmam venit. Ac tamē in ipso magna vis animos rat confirmato at omnibus quorum potentia aut scelere cūta eā gesserat: q̄q̄ supra d̄ xinius: Caiū tamen: Bebiū tribunum plebis / magna mercede parat: cuius impudenter contra ius et iniurias omnes munitus loicit.

## The batayle

At Caius Memmius ad-  
uocata concione ( q̄q re-  
gi infesta plebs erat: et  
pars in vincula duci iu-  
beret: pars vero nisi socios  
sceleris aperiret: more  
majorum de hoste suppli-  
cium sumi dignitatia mag-  
gis q̄ i te consulens: sed a-  
re motu set animos eorum  
mollire postremo confit-  
mare fidem publicam per-  
sele inuiolatam fore.

Post ubi silentium cepit  
productio Jugurtha ver-  
ba facit. Rome Numidiae  
q̄ facinora eius memorat  
scelera in patre fratres  
que ostedit: et quibus in-  
uantibus quibusque mi-  
nistris ea egerit: q̄q intel-  
igit populus Romanus:  
tamen se velle manifeste  
magis ex illo habere: si  
verum aperiat: in fide et  
clemētia populi romani  
magnam spem illi sitam.

Sin reticeat: non saluti  
socijs fore: se se et suas os-  
pes corrupturum.  
Deinde ubi Mēmi⁹ dicē-  
di finem fecit: et Jugur-  
tha iussus est respondere:  
Caius Bebius ( quē pecu-  
nia corruptum supra dic-  
ximus ) regim tacere iu-  
bet: ac tametsi multitu-  
do qua in cōcione aderat  
vehementer accensa ter-  
rebatur eū clathore vultu-  
que: sepe impetu: atq; a-  
lijs omnibusque ira fieri  
amat: Vicit tū Bebius im-

By whose dishonest & vnmesurable couetise he trusted assu-  
redly to be defended agaynst lawe / from all punysshmentes  
due vnto his demerites. But the cōmenty of Rome was vio-  
lently and soze w̄z the agaynst Jugurtha some cōmaunded to  
haue hym to prison & there to kepe hym in bandes: And other  
some wolde that acordyng to the lawe punysshment of dethe  
shulde by taken of hym as of theyz mortall ennemy / if he wold  
nat shortly cōfesse & discouer the felowes/partners / & suppo-  
ters of his cruell dedes. Caius Mēmius hetyngh herof called  
togyder the cōmenty and alayed the moy on & wrath of theyz  
myndes apeasyng theyz bnausped rancour. And requeryngh  
them to kepe the sayth & trouth of the cite ( which they had pro-  
mised to Jugurthe ) clere inuolate and vndefyled. Thus  
dyd Memmius exhort them as he which more regarded & set  
more by the consecuacion of the dignite of Rome / than by the  
parfournyng and satissyng the wrath & ire of the rude cō-  
mens. But whan sylence was made among all the assemble:  
anone Jugurtha was brought forth before them all. Memmi⁹  
than began to speke to hym demurely rehersyng and openly  
recountyng how he had corrupt the estates of Rome with his  
treasure / and cruellly agaynst ryght had done many abhomy-  
nable dedes at Rome / and also in Numidie agaynst the kyng  
M̄cipsa and his sonnes / as slayne Adherball and H̄empshall  
fally dysceyued the kyng M̄cipsa: and wasted þ kyngdome  
of Numidie. And howbeit ( sayd Memmius ) that the Ro-  
manys knewe well his supporters yet they wold most of all  
that Jugurtha shulde openly discouer & accuse them hymselfe.  
Wherfoze he desyred hym truly to cōfesse the names of them  
by whose supportacion he was so bolde to cōmyt so many imo-  
derate & cruell dedes. Sayng that if he wold so do & cōfesse &  
disclose the trouth than myght he haue great trust and confy-  
dence in þ fauour/clemētia / and mercy of the people of Rome.  
But if he wold nat so do / he shulde do no p̄fet by his sylence  
to the noble men of Rome which had supported him: And also  
he shulde be dysstruction and vndoing of hymselfe / and of his  
ryches also. On this point Memmi⁹ ceassed his wordes and  
heldc hym styll. Anone Jugurtha was cōmaunded of the com-  
mente to make answeare. But whan he was reddy to haue spo-  
ken Caius Bebius whome he had corrupted with treason  
( as I haue made mention before ) commaunded hym to hold  
his pease. In somoche that howbeit the people soze moued  
with displeasure put hym in feare with reclamaacion agaynst  
hym with angry countenances / and often violently renyng  
upon hym / and with other tokens of p̄ze and dyspleasure.  
Neuerthelesse for all this the frowarde counsell of Bebius

ouercame they; thretynge / insomoche that Jugurth wolde nothyng speke nor dysclose. And thus the people had in derision & abused / departed from the congregacion and assemble. So the myndes of Jugurthe / of Calphurnius / and of other they; partyners were than inhabnsed & increased in boldnesse: whiche were troubled and moche ferefull before whan Jugurth was first sende for; and brought to be examined.

**C**how Jugurth increased his crueltie at Rome and renued his murdre in sleayng an other noble man of the stocke of Micipila by occasion wherof he was constrainyd to departe from Rome / and the batayle renewed agayne of hole.

**C**The. xxiii. chapyter.



**T**he same season was a gentles man at Rome named Massiuia / boerne of the countrey of Numidye / whiche was the sone of Galussa / & neuewe to þ good kyng Massinissa. This Massiuia was agaynst Jugurth in the stryfe & discencion bytwene Adherball & hym / whan the towne of Cirtha was yelded and Adherball slayne. Wherfore he trusted nat Jugurth / but to sauе hymselfe fled from Numidye unto Rome. Nowe was a lord at Rome named Albinus / whiche was creat consull with an other partyng felowe named Minutius / the next yere after Calphurnius. This Albinus came to Massiuia and couisayled hym (bycause he was of the stocke of Massinissa) to greue Jugurth / alsmoch as he couide / with enuy / feare / and displeasure for his offences & cruelte: And by petition to desyre of the senatours the administracion of the kyngdome of Numidye. Albinus gaue to hym this counsell / for alsmoch as he hymselfe was desyrrous of batayle. Wherfore he wold moch rather that every thyng wey moued with troublle / than pacified or at rest. Than was a custome at Rome / that the consull shulde haue a partyng felow / & bytwene them the prouinces belongyng to Rome shulde be deuided. Thus in departing of the prouinces / the countrey of Numidye fell to Albinus / and the countrey of Macidony to his felowe Minutius. Shortly after Massiuia began to moue the mater to the senatours touchyng administracion of the kyngdome of Numidye. Jugurth herteing of this had nat so great trust i his mater nor to his frendes as he had before: for some of them with dñe we they; selfe for knowledge of they; fautes / and other

pudentia. Itaq; populus ludibrio habitus ex conatione discessit. Jugurthæ / Bestieq; et cæteris quos illa questio ex agitabat ai augescunt,

**E**rat ea tēpestate Ro-  
mæ Numida quidam  
nomine Massiuia fili⁹  
Galussa: nepos Massinisa  
sequi (quia in dissensione  
regum Jugurthæ aduersus fuerat) dedita Cirtha  
et Adherbale intersecto  
profugus ex Africā abserat. Huic Spurius  
Albinus qui proximo anno post bestiā cum quinto  
Minutio Russo cōsulatū gerebat: quoniam e stirpe Massinissæ sic  
Jugurtham ob scelerā in  
uidia cū metu vrgeat: re-  
gnum Numidiae a senatu  
petat. auditus consul bel-  
li gerundi moueri q; sene  
scere omnia malebat,

Ipsi prouincia Numidia  
Minutio Macedonia ob-  
uenit. Que postq; Massiuia agitare cepit: neq; Ju-  
gurthæ in amicis fatis p-  
sidij est ( quia eorum aliū  
conscientia: aliū mala  
fama et timor impedi-

## The batayle

bat y Bomilchari proxio  
ac maxime fido sibi impe-  
rat ut precio ( sicuti mul-  
ta consecerat ) iis sidiato-  
res Massue paret: ac ma-  
xime occulte: iiii id paru procedat: quouis modo  
Numidiam interficiat.

Bomilchar mature regis  
mandata exequitur y ho-  
mines talis negotij arti-  
fices: itinera / regrebusq/  
ei us / postremo loca / atq/  
tempora explorat. Deinde  
vbi res p stulabat: insi-  
fidias tetendit. Igif vnuus  
ex eo numero qui ad cedem  
parati erant: paulo  
incō ulius Massua ag-  
greditur: illuque obtrun-  
cat. Sed ipse aeprehēsus  
multis horribibz, et in  
primis Albino consule in  
dicium profiteretur. Fit re-  
us magis ex equo et bos-  
no q ex iure gentium Bos-  
milchar comes eius qui  
Romā fide pu. venerat.

At Jugurtha manifestus  
tanti sceleris non prius  
omisit contra verum me-  
ti / q anima duerit supra  
gratiam ac pecuniam iuc-  
am inuidiam facti esse.

Igitur qq in priori actio-  
ne ex amicis quinquagin-  
ta vades dederat: regno  
magis q vadibus confus-  
lens: clam in Numidiam  
dimittit Bomilchar evec-  
titus ne reliquos popula-  
res metus inuaderet pa-  
rendi sibi: si de illo sup-  
plicium sumptum foret.

Et ipse paucis diebus eo  
profectus est: iiii us a se-  
natū Italiā discedere.

Sed postū Roma egressus

some for feare of yll name and fame or rumour of the people.  
Wherfore Jugurth consydering this recuyzed Bomilchar/ one of his most neit: & trusty frendes to prouide and to hyer by gyftes & rewardes a company to sle the sayd Massua / and that as priuely as coude be done. But if it coude nat p:riuely be done than to slee hym openly by one meane or other Bomil- char shoxly went about the comaunderment of Jugurth/ and anone prouided men & hy. ed suche as were mete for suche a dede: and comaundered them to espy and serche his wavyes/his goynge & comynge/ and to wayet a season & place conuenient to parforme theyz enterprise. But afterwarde whan he sawe his tyme he prepared to execute this treason. Wherfore one of them which were ordayneid & assigned to this murdere assayled Massua rashely with small prouision or auxilment / & slew hym vnware. But he whiche dyde the dede anone was taken & brought before the iudges. The people in great nombre desyzed & at last constrainyd hym to tell by whose couzell he dyd that myschewous dede / and specially Albinus the consull coarted hym therro. The murderer anone confessel the treuthe and declared howe he had done it at the instigacion & counsel of Bomilchar: And nat withstanding that the same Bomil- char came to Rome / vnder the sauegarde & assurance of the farty of the commente as dyd Jugurth / yet he was judged gyltie of the dede/consyderyng that he was cousellour thereto and nat accordyng to the common lawe but after very equite and good coscience. But Jugurth cosydering hymselfe cul-  
pable in the same faute / yet wolde by no meane confesse nor  
knowlege hymselfe fautie / tyll tyme that he vnderstode and  
sawe that the enuy and displesure which was taken agaynst this dede passed all his fauoure and rewardes whiche he had  
gyuen at Rome/ so y at last in his gyftes he soude no socoures  
nor arde. But howbeit in the first accion or accusacion in hich  
was layed agaynst hym/ he had brought in & layd. l. suerties  
of his frendes for hym & all other of his retynue that he shuld  
purge hymselfe of euery thyng whiche n as or shuld be layed  
agaynst hym/ yet thought he better to prouide for the protec-  
tion of his kyngdome than for the helth of his pledges or  
suerties. And this cosydering he p:riuely sent Bomilchar away  
from Rome unto Numidy / dredyng that if condyng and  
worthy punysshement were taken of Bomilchar at Rome /  
left the other commentie of his realme at home wolde ede  
to be obedient to hym. And anone after Bomilchar was de-  
parted Jugurth hymselfe fledde also from Rome after hym  
commaunded of the senatours to depart from Italy as ennes-  
my to the romayns & theyz empyze. But whan he was departs  
ted a lytell

ted a lytell without Rome : it is sayde that he loked often backewarde behynde hym spekyng secretly to hymselfe: but at the last he spake playnly in audience that they whiche were assystant myght here hym and sayd. O noble and famous ci-  
tie corrupt and accloyed with infect citezins/ whose couetysse  
is so insatiable that they wyl profer the foorth to sale/ & shortly  
thou shuldest be solde and perysche / if thy rulers coude fynde  
any man that wolde bye the/ and gyuen money for the.

**C**howe Albynus consull of Rome renewed the warre agayng Jugurthe/ and at last returned a-  
gayne to Rome leauynge his brother Aulus in  
Numidy/with the army in his towme.

The. xxiiii.chapyster.

**A**t the mean season Albinus whi-  
che was create consull next after Calphur-  
nius renewed the warre agaynst Jugurth  
and wout taryeng: causeth vytayls/ waggs/  
and all other thynges necessary/ expeditie/  
and belongyng to sondyouts:to be cons-  
veyed spedely into Africke. And he anone  
hymselfe in all hast toke his vyage thyderwarde also/ and so  
forth to Numidy. In which vyage he made more hasty ex-  
pedition to thintent to fynissh the warre with Jugurth/ other  
by force of armes/or els costrayning hym to yelde hymselfe/or  
by some other meanes what so eyer myght be founde namely  
before the tyme of election of newe consuls/ whiche tyme was  
nat longe to come. But contrary wyle Jugurth prolonged  
euery thyng by one cause or other. As fast as Albinus went  
forwarde/ so fast Jugurth founde impedimentes/ somtyme  
he promysed to yelde hymselfe/ and somtyme fayned hymselfe  
afraied. One wyle he fled from the army of Albinus whan  
it was nere hande to hym: And anone after lest his men shuld  
mystrust by dysconfort or dispayze/he boldly withstode and  
defended hymselfe manly. And thus in prolongyng the tyme:  
somtyme with warre and somtyme with peace/he abused and  
mocked the consull/ wherfore some were which suspected that  
Albinus was nat ignorant of the counsell of Jugurth/but co-  
sentynge to hym by fauoure: And for as moche as at the begyn-  
nyng he was so fiers/hasty/and diligent: it was suspected  
that he droue forth the tyme nowe rather by craft than cowars-  
dye. But after the tyme was passed and the day of election of  
newe consules aproched/ it came fast on. The consull Albinus  
Jugurth.

f.i.

est fertur sepe tacitus re-  
spiciens postremo dixisse/  
urbem venalem/ et matu-  
re perituram: si emptore  
inuenerit.

Nterim Albinus reno-  
uato bello/ cōmeatum/  
stipendiū/ aliaque qua-  
militibus usui forent: ma-  
turat in Africā portare;  
ac statim ipse prosector  
est/ vti ante comitia ( qd  
tempus haud longe abe-  
rat) armis aut deditio-  
ne aut quois modo bellum  
conficeret.

At contra Jugurtha tra-  
here omnia: et alias/dein  
de alias causas more sa-  
cere: polliceri deditio-  
ne ac deinde metum simula-  
re:cedere instanti: et pau-  
lo post ( ne sui dissideret)  
instare: ita belli modo:  
modo pacis meta/ confu-  
lem ludihare.

At fuere/ qui tum Albinus  
haud ignarum eos filij re-  
gis existimarent.

Neque ex tanta propera-  
ria: tam facile tractu bel-  
lum secordia magis qd do-  
lo crederent. Sed postq  
dilapo tempore/ comiti-  
orum dies aduentabat:

## The batayle

Albinus Aulo fratre in castris pro pretore relicto / Roma distescit.

ordayned his brother named Iulius to remayne in his stede as captayne and ruler in the army: and he hymselfe departed towarde Rome / to be at election of the newe consuls / as the lawe required.

**C**how Aulus and the romayne army were disconfyted of Jugurth: and howe peace was graffed to hym by Aulus: and to what shame the Romayns were put by casshe foly of the same capytayne Iulius. **C**Chapter. xxv.

**E**A tempestate Romæ seditionibus tribuniis atrociter respusa gitabatur. Publius Lucullus: Lucius Annius tribuni plebis resistentibus collegis continuare magistratum nitebantur.

Quæ dissensio totius anni comitia impediens,

**E**a mora in spem adductus Aulus (quem pro pretore in castris relictu supra diximus) aut conficendi belli gratia: aut terore exercitus ab rege pecunie capiunde / milites mense Ianuario ex tabernaculis in expeditionem euocat: magnisque itineribus hyeme aspera peruenit ad oppidum Suthul / ubi regis thesauri erant. Quod quæ seuitia temporis et opportunitate loci neque capi neque obserdi poterat (nam circa murum situm in prærupti montis extremo planicies limosa hyemalibus aquis paludem fecerat) tñ aut similandi gratia quo



**D**the same season was the common wayle at Rome moche troubled with variance and debate betwene the protonotours of the communitie. For of them one named Lucullus and an other Annius laboured to contynue and kepe styll their office and agaynst the ordynaunce of the lawe to contynue more than one yere. Wherfore the other whiche were syngfelous i office with them laboured with all their wyght the contrary to resyst them and to mayntayne the olde constitution / ordynaunce and custome. This dysencion and debate letted the election of the newe consuls all that yere. Iulius whom Albinus had left with the armes in Numidie as his leutenant herd of this prolongyng of the tyme & was brought in great hope to wynne great honour or treason. Wherfore in the colde moneth of Januari he called the soudyours forth of theyre tentes to execute the batayle with Jugurth without more delay. Other dyde he thus shortly to make an ende of the batayle in his tyme / and therby to wynne honoure or els with his armes to put Jugurth in feare (so that to haue peace) he shulde redeme the same of Iulius with great treason. Iulius concludyng on this purpose spedde hym so fast with his soudyours makynge dayly great tournaies (nat withstanding the sharpnesse of wynter) that at last he came to a towne in Numidie named Huthull: in whiche towne the treasours of Jugurth were layed. This towne with walles / waters / and mountaynes of nature was strongly defended: for without the walles buylded on the heyghte of a mountaygne broken on the foerfonte was a great playne fenne / or marrayse grounde: all ouercovered with mudd / and standyng wpter water. In somoche that what for the sharpnesse of the wynter season: and what for naturall defence of the place / this towne coude by no meanes bewell besyged nor taken: yet this nat w-

Standynge Iulius to encrease fere to Jugurth and for the blynde desyre which he had to wyinne the towne in maner of dissimulation assayled the same and made pauayles about the walles of sheldes contayned lyke bynes wherunder his men myght fyght with lesse damage or paryll. Than made he a dyche or trenched rounde about the towne with great hepes of erthe casten vpon the sydes of the same to the entent that no socours shulde entre into them nor they escape forth at theyr pleasurs. And finally he made ready every thyng whiche belonged or was necessary to besiegynge of suche a towne. But Jugurth anone perceyued the wayne and folyshe behauoure of Iulius and craftely increased by polcy the madnes of hym sending often embassadours vnto hym to requyze in deystyon that he wolde desyst and leue besyginge of the towne and intreatyng hym of peace mekely. But in the meane tyme Jugurth hymselfe in maner as yf he wold nat intermell with Iulius ledde his army by wodes/forestes/by streat passages/by hyls & dales/and by batways: causynge Iulius to suspect that he was a dradde of hym: And finally he enduced Iulius to truste after some apointment. And thus Jugurth with his men sleyng alway into desertes and hydde places gaue confort to Iulius and encreased his corage by such auoyding. Insomuch that at last Iulius gaue vp the segyng of the towne of Suthull: And with his hole power hastely pursued Jugurth as sleyng from hym for dede into places unkno Wen to hym and his men. Thus was the treason of Jugurth more hydde from Iulius wherfore he made the lesse prouision therfore. In the meane season Jugurth by subtyll messangers attempted the comayne armay day and nyght inducyng them to consent to betray theyr felowes the captpayns/and vndercaptayns: anone for lucre consented to hym. Some in tyme of batayle to forsake and betray theyr owne company and to fyght on the part of Jugurth. And other whiche wolde nat graunt to so foule a dede as to fyght agaynst theyr owne company / he exhorted and induced them whan the trumpettes shulde blowe to batayle to leue theyr places & array: And depart from theyr company without stroke on onelyde or other. Whan every thyng was brought to his purpose and accorded to his requestes: Than about mydryght he stale priuily towardc the centes of the comayns: and sodenly with a great company of Numidians compassed them about on every syde and assayled theri fierilly. The comayne sondyours whiche were with Iulius thus unwarly invaded: were mervelously abashed and amased / for vnywont & sodayn feare of this treason. Some of the most noble heretis: with great

Jugurth.

f. 11.

regi formidinē adderet: aut cupidine cecus opidi potiundi: vineas agere: aggerem iacere: aliaque quæ incepto vsui forent preparare.

At Jugurtha cognita vanitate atque impietia legati subdole eius augere ametiā missi tare suppli- cantes legatos: ipse quae si vitabundus p saltuosa loca et tramites exercitū ductare.

Denique Aulum spe pa-  
ctōis pepulit: vti Suthu-  
le relictō in abditas regi-  
ones se veluti redētem  
insequeretur.

Ita deliciæ occultiora fu-  
cre.

Interea Jugurtha per ho-  
mines callidos die noctu-  
que exercitum tentabat:  
centuriones ducesq; tur-  
marum partim vti trans-  
sugerēt corrumpere: alijs  
signo dato vti locum de-  
sererent.

Quæ postq; ex sentētia in-  
struxit intempesta nocte  
cum multitudine Numi-  
darum Auli castra circū-  
uenit.

Milites Romani percus-

## The batayle

si in solito metu arma caper: alijs se se abdere: pars territoris confirmare: trepidare omnibus locis vi magna hostium:

calum nocte atque nubibus obscuratum: periculum anceps.

Postremo fugere an manere tutus foret, in incerto erat.

Sed ex eo numero quos paulo ante corruptos dimicamus cohors una ligatum cum duabus turmis Tracum et paucis gregatis militibus transiere ad regem: et Ceturio principali tertie legionis pro munitione (quam vti defenseret acceperat) locum hostibus introeundi dedit. Ea parte Numide cuncti irrupere. Ex nostris feda iuga: plerique abiectis armis, proximum collem occupauere. nox atque preda castrorum hostes quominus victoria uerentur: tremorata sunt. Deinde postero die Iugurtha cum Aulo in colloquio verba facit: tametsi ipsi cum exercitu tame ferro que clausum tenet: tamen dicit se memorem humanitatum rerum si secum sedus faceret: incolumes omnes sub iugum missum: proterea vti decem diebus Numidia decederent.

courage drew to them they; harness and resysted therenemes  
mies valvantly: fully assured and prefyred to dye lyke men:  
ys fortune shulde graunt them none other meanes to escape  
that instant danger. Some other as cowardes hydde them  
selfe in caues & other secrete places ys they myght any synde.  
The boldest and most vsed to such chaunces conforzed theyz  
felowes whiche were frefull and vnexpert of such chaunces  
of warre. Howbeit none of them all was so bolde nor so well  
assured of hymselfe / but that he was bothe in great drede and  
danger. And no manuayle for in euery place and on all sydes  
about them they were inuironed in compasse with great vio-  
lence & plentious nombre of theyz ennemites hyd vnder dark-  
nes of the nyght and cloudes which vterly obscured the ster-  
res lyght. Theyz patyll was indiferent and doutfull whyther  
they fled or abode the batayle. For deth was instant and des-  
pended ouer theyz hedes every way: and other hope nor espe-  
raunce was none saue deth inevitable. So that finally it was  
vncertayne unto them whether it was better or moxe sure to  
fle or to abyde to theyz auenture. But of that company whiche  
Jugurth had corrupted wth rewardes as we haue sayd be-  
fore one bende or cohort of lombardes and tow turmes that  
is to say. lt. thraciens and a fewe rude and comensoudours  
betrayed the romayns and went ouer to Jugurth. Also the  
Centurion whiche was assigned to be captayne ouer them/  
whiche were comytted to fyght about the first standard of the  
thyrd legion drew hym and his company alsyde and suffred  
theyz ennemites to entre into the myddes of the hoost on that  
syde which they had taken to defend. Thus all h Numidyes  
brake in on that syde without any resystance. And at conclus-  
sion the romayns had a foule flyght and a shamefull discon-  
fiture insomuche that they trusted more to theyz fete than to  
theyz handes or armour: And many of them to ren lyghter  
thru away theyz armour and harness / and toke the top of an  
hyll whiche was nere therby and ther taryed. The company  
of Jugurth what for spoylinge of the romayns tentes and  
darknes of the nyght had les honour of victorie and suffred  
many of the romayns to escape. On the next day after Jus-  
gurth and Iulus came to communication togyder. Than sayd  
Jugurth to Iulus that nat withstandyng that he had hym &  
his army which were let alwyue sure ynough copassed and en-  
upzoned with wepen & hunger so that they coude nat escape  
hym: and howbeit it was in his power to oppres hym & all  
his. Neuertheles he remembred well through the incertayn  
chances of mannes busynesse & wold nat be to hym cruell nor  
vnctresso that he wolde make w hym a bonde of peas and

no more contend agaynst hym in batayle / on this condiccion /  
that all the soudyours of Aluis shulde do obesance vnto hym  
and passe vnder a spere in token of subiectyon and so without  
more damage depart out of the countrey of Aumayre within  
the space of .x. dayes next after. But howbeit this compo-  
sition and condiccion were hard / greuous / and full of shame &  
misery / and worthy to be punysshed / of the senatours yf Alui-  
lus agreed to them. Nevertheles ther myndes so wavered  
for dyede of dech that at last the composition & agreement was  
concluded & agreed at the wyll & pleasure of Iugurth vpon  
the sayd condicions.

**C**what sozo we and heynnes was at Rome:and  
how they deineaned themselfe in the cite after  
that sydylnges herof were brought thyder.

## The xvi. chapter.

**U**HAN THE ROMAYNS UNDERSTODE OF THIS  
AT ROME/ ALL THE CITE WAS FYLLED WITHE DREDE/ SO  
TO ME/LAMENTACIION & MORTIFYNG. SOME BEWAY-  
LED THE WORSHIPP OF THYMPTE AS LOST BY THAT SHAR-  
MEFULLE COMPOSITION: ANOTHER UNCUSTOMED TO SU-  
THE BUSYNESSE OF BATAYLE: & NAT KNOWYNG NEV<sup>E</sup> COLDYDING THE  
VARIALE MUTABILITE OF CHAUCES OF WACE FERRED THE LOSS OF THEIR  
LIBERTIE OF THEIR CITE/ AND OF ALL THYMPTE. THEY ALL WERE  
WROTHE A BRETTERLY DISPLEASED W<sup>T</sup> JULUS CAUSE OF THIS SUBICTION  
& SHAMEFULL COMPOSITION. BUT NAMELY THY WHICH HAD BEN GOOD  
MARRYOURS IN THEIR DAYES WERE DISPLEASED WITH HYM MOST OF  
ALL: WHAN THEY COLDYD ZED THAT HE BE PNLG ARMED & WELL APPOINTED  
TO BATAYLE RATHER SOUGHT MEANES TO ESCAPE FROM DEATH BY SUCHE  
SHAMEFULL & BONDE COMPOSITION THAN MANLY ABYDING THE EXCE-  
MITE OF BATAYLE TO HAVE DELIVERED HYMSELFE & HIS COMPANY: OR  
ELS VALYANTLY TO HAUE DYED WITHE HONOUR. BUT THE COLDULL IR-  
BINUS HYMSELFE DREDDED SORE FOR THIS WYNGS COLDYDING THAT FOR  
HIS BROTHERS FAUTE IN TYME TO COE HE SHULD NOT AUOYDE THE DIS-  
PLEASURE OF THE SENATORVS & COMENS OF ROME. FOR AS HE CONIE-  
CTURED ALL HIS BROTHERS DEDES SHULD REDOWDE TO HIS DISHONOUR  
& PARVLL/ BY CAUSE HE HAD IPMITTED HYM IN AUMIDY IN HIS STEW  
TO BE CAPTAYNE OF THE ARMP IN HIS ABSENCE. WHEREFORE (THESE THYM-  
GES DUELLY ADURSED) HE WENT TO THE SENATO<sup>S</sup> DESPUNGE THEM TO  
TAKE COUNSELL & ADVISEMENT WHYTHEY WOLDE APPROBATE AND  
ALLOWE THE SAYD COMPOSITION BYTWENE HIS BROTHER JULUS & JU-  
GURTH: OX ELS NAT. BUT HE KNEWE TYRGHT WELL THAT THE SENATORVS  
WOLDE NAT CONFERME THE SAME. WHEREFORE (IN THE ANESTIME WHY<sup>E</sup>  
THEY WENY COUNSELLING) HE ELECT SONDPO<sup>S</sup> SOZ SUPPLIMENT TO SUCHE

f. ill.

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**Quæ** quæ grauia et flagis-  
tij plena erant: tamè que  
a mortis metu nutabant  
sicu*ri* tegi libuerat: prae  
conue*ni*us.

Controlling antibiotic resistance genes in plasmids by insertion elements.

**S**ed ubique Romæ com-  
perta sunt: metus atq;  
meror, cœlumq; in-  
uasare. Parcere dovere pro  
giantia impesuata ussoli  
ti bellicarum rerum tunc  
re libertati.

**Aulo** omnes i festi aem  
xime qui bello & clari se  
pe fuerant q. armatus de  
decoro potius q. manu la  
ludem quiescerat.

Cbea consul Albinus ex  
delicto fratri inuidiam  
ac deinde periculum tis-  
mehs senatum de foederis  
consulebat: tamen exer-  
citui interim supplementi  
eum scribere.

## The batayle

A scelis et nomine lati-  
no auxilia acertere: de-  
riue omnibus modis se-  
gurare.

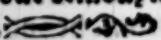
**S**egurus ( uti par fuerat )  
decernit suo atque popu-  
li in iussu nullum potu-  
se fedus fieri.

Consul impeditus a tri-  
buno plebis ne quas pa-  
zauerat copias secū por-  
taret: paucis diebus in A-  
phricam proficiuntur.

**N**ā omnis exercitus / uti  
cōuenerat / Numida des-  
ductus in prouincia hye-  
manabat.

Postq̄ eo ventum est ( q̄q̄  
persequi Jugurtham: et  
mederi fraterno inuidie  
animus ardebat ) cogni-  
tis militib⁹ quos preter  
fugam soluto imperio li-  
cetia atque lascivia cor-  
superat ex copia rerū sta-  
uit sibi nihil agendum.

**I**nterī Romę Caius Ma-  
lius limitanus tribunus  
spl. ro gationem ad popu-  
lum promulgat uti que-  
retetur in eos quorū cō-  
silio Jugurtha senat⁹ de-  
creta neglexisse: et qui  
tradidissent elephantos  
et pugnas: quique ob eo  
aut in legationibus aut  
imperijs pecunias acce-  
pserint.

and parforme agayne the army whiche was in Affrike / and  
soze diminished. For many of them were slayne by Jugurth  
and his company. Wherfore Abinus rapsed vp locours of  
such as were neare to the costes of Rome / and stendes to them  
picer: as Latinians and Italians with other naciōs. Of these  
he rapsed as many as he myght and assembled them togidet  
by all meanes whiche he coude deuyse to founysche and aug-  
mente his army. At conclusion the senatours decteed in their  
counsell that no bondē of peace nor composition myght be co-  
firmed without their consent and without the aduyse & com-  
maundement of the cōmen people also: as ryght and reason  
requyred. And thus was the sayd cōposition of Iulius abzo-  
gate as thyng presumed without consent or comaunderment  
of the senatours or commens. But whan the consull Abinus  
had ordyned and prepared supplement of his army ( as sayd  
is ) he was prohþbet and leitt by the protectours of the cō-  
munity: In somoche that he was nat suffered by them to conuey  
suche company as he had rapsed into Affrike / with hym as he  
intended to repayre and to rysylle the army whiche there re-  
mayned. Wherfore he spedde hymselfe forth into Affrike disas-  
poyned of his purpose with a small company of men of his  
owne retynue. The army of the romayns whiche he before  
had cōmptted to Iulius his brother: accordyng to the oþerwids  
ment with Jugurth was deparred forth of Numidy. And to  
passorth the wynter / taryed in a prouince of Affrike whiche  
was luyget to the empire of Rome. Whan Abinus the consull  
was arryued & come thider: his mynde ardently was kynd-  
led vñ it: desypte to pursue Jugurth / and to remedy the ylwyll  
and displeasure whiche the commens at Rome had agaynst  
Iulius his brother. Accuertheles whan he knewe the maners  
and yll behauour of the soudyours: of whome some were sild  
tretyterously to Jugurth ( as is sayd before ) & some by suffe-  
raunce of theyz capteyne were infected and corrupte d with  
ouermoch pleasure dissolute liberty / and voluptuous lyuing:  
this consideringe he concluded ( as the case requyred ) to do no-  
thyng for a seazon: and to attempte no maistry: but to passe  
forth the wynter with his army without remouyng or puts-  
ting hymselfe in traparde or paryll.   
**A** In the meane season whyle Abinus and his army sojour-  
ned in the prouince of Affrike vñ the wynter were ouerpasseid.  
At Rome was one named Catus Manlius elect and lymit-  
ted protectour of the cōmen people whiche anone after he was  
set in authorite: assembled the cōmens: a desyzed & coulseyed  
them that anquisition myght be made of all such by whose sup-  
portacion a coulell Jugurth had dyspiled & set at nought the

ordinances decreed of the senatours. And agaynst them whiche had restored agayne to Jugurth the elphantines whiche Jugurth had deluyerd to Calphurnius at the first composition and apoyntment whiche was made with hym. And also agaynst them whiche had receyued any money or other rewardis of Jugurth whyle they were emballado's or captians of armes ayenst hym: send forth by the romayns. And finaly the same inquisition also was extended agaynst all such as had made any pactions / apoyntmentes / or promises of peace or of warre with enemites of thempire without generall consent of the senatours or commens.

Whan this inquise was moued: many of the senatours & noble men of Rome knewe themselves culpable in the sayd articles. And other some doubted soze of partys for to come by cause of the ylwyll & malye whiche the partie of the cōmens confederat had agaynst them. Wherfore lyth the same noble men myght nat well resyst the examinacion of these articles openly: but of necessite they must agre thereto: other els knowlegh themselfe (by ther resystente) gylte in the same: therfore they prepared impediment p̄ticularly agaynst suche inquisitions by theyr frennd: but specially by y felowes of thempire whiche were cōfederate with the cōmpanys as Italyans & Latinas. The princes of these nations & suche other lyke gaue counsell to the senatours whiche were nat fauty in the premyses and also to the cōmenty: that in suche a troublous / bely / and perylous season no suche examinacions shulde be made nor proceſſe forwarde to effect: for dñe of many inconueniences whiche of the same myght cyse bytwene the noble men & the cōmens. But (this nat with standyng) it is a merueyloous thyng and in maner incrediblie to speke of: how bely and diligent the commens were to haue the same inquisition to procede / and to be brought to effect: and that rather for hatered whiche they had agaynst the noble men (agaynst whome the sayd inquisition was ordayned) thā for any good wyl or favour / whiche they had to the cōmen wele. So great pleasure & deſyre of variāce was among them. Wherfore whyle the remenant of the noble men were soze troubled with feare and dred. Marcus Scaurus which was before sent into Africke with Calphurnius (as I haue sayd) prouided for hymselfe in crafty maner as I shall nowe declare. Whyle the cōmenty was mety & iopeous of this craminacion & many of the company of Scaurus that knew themselves fauty fled for feare. And the hole cōte was in moche dred and Manlius obtayned his petition & wyl of the cōmenty. In somoche that anone were ordayned thre noble men commissioners to examine the thre articles before recheched and

Item qui de pace / aut bello cum hostibus pactio[n]es fecissent.

Huic rogationi partim consciſſibilij ex partum iniuria pericula meſtuent: quoniam aperte resistere non poterant qui illa et alia placere sibi faterentur occul[er]e p[ro] amicos ac maxime y homines nominis latini et socios Italicos impedimenta parabant.

Sed plebs / ſcredibile mea moratu eſt / q[ui]tum intenta fuerit q[ua]que vi rogationem iuſerit: magis odio nobilitatis (cui illa mala parabantur) q[ui] cura reip[ublice].

Tata libido in partibus erat. Igitur exteris peccatis metu Marcus Scaurus quem legatum Bestie supra memorauimus inter leticiam plebis et suorū fugā trepida etiam tunc ciuitate quam ex Malis rogatiōe tres quæſtores rogarētur: efficerat ut ipſe in eo mupero crearetur,

## The batayle

here insuyng of whom the first was of them which couiselled Jugurth to dispise the decrets of the senatours and that toke money or rewardes of hym. The seconde was of them that tolde agaynto Jugurth the forsayd eliphantes and the Numidians that left Jugurth commynge on the romayns syde. And the thirde examinacion was of them whiche had made any apointment of peace or warre with the ennemis of Rome as was Jugurth. But nat withstandyng that Calphurnius was culpable in the same as moche as any other of the noble men. Neuerthelesse he shysted so for hymselfe that he was electe to be one of the examinours or commissioners to make inquisition of these thre poyntes reherced. The inquisition proceded to effecte and was handled and put in execution with moche violence and sharpeley after the comenratus mōt and pleasure of the cōmenty. Thus the people seynge theyz pleasure fulfylled / at that tyme began to be proude and statly therof in lykewyse as the estates had ben in foretyme of theyz power and lordshyp. But here wyl I make a small d̄gression fro my purpose & tell wherof this variance & discord bytwene the cōmens and noble men first proceded.

Wherof the dyscorde and takyng of parties by twene the noble men and cōmens of Rome had fyrtēt begynnyng. The xxvii. chapyter.

**C**eterum mos partit⁹  
popularium: et sena-  
tus factionum: ac de-  
inde omnium malarum  
artium paucis ante an-  
nis Romæ ortus est otio  
atque abundantia earū  
remunque prima morta-  
les ducunt.

Nam ante Carthaginem  
deletam populus et sena-  
tus roman⁹ placide mos  
desteque inter se rempu-  
blicam tractabant. Neq;  
glorie certamen neq;  
dominationis inter ciues es-  
sat. Metus hostilis in bo-  
nis artibus ciuitatem re-  
tinebat.

Sed ubi illa formido a  
mēritib⁹ discessit: scilicet



His maner of deuisyon of the com-  
mente from the estates of Rome: This dis-  
corde & takyng of parties bytwene them: &  
this inordinate custom of all other incōue-  
niences began among the but a few pe-  
res before this tyme by meane of ouer mos-  
the rest ad ydlenes: by superfluous habun-  
dance of richesse/voluptuosite/and of other worldely delecta-  
tions: whiche many counte & repute so; most chiese pleasures  
of this lyfe. For before the destruction of Carthage/the sena-  
tors and cōmenty of Rome treated and gouerned the cōmen-  
wele bytwene them peasably in loue and concorde. So that  
among the citizins was no stryfe nor debate/for laude/excel-  
lence/for dignite/nor for great dominion. The dredre whiche  
they had of their ennemis made them warre and kept them in  
good maners causyng them to gouerne their cite with good &  
vertues institutes/without variance/without robbery/with-  
out opp̄ession/without slaughter nor other lyke cruell tyran-  
nies. But whan Carthage was ouercome anone was expule-

sed fere from theyz myndes: and voluptuosite/wantonnes / & pride (which ar greatly loued in welth and prosperite) anone entred their myndes: so that they desyred peace whā they had warre. But whā the warre was ended: & that they had peace and pdlenes after theyz owne desyre: theyz peace and rest was more sharpe/more bytter/more intollerable/and more perils lous to them thā the warre was before. For the estates began to tourne theyz dignite & wo:shyp/into immoderate affection of great lordshyppe and dominacion. And the cōmen people began to tourne theyz libertie into lust and pleasure. Every man prouyded and dwele to hymselfe robbynge & reauynge without measure/from the cōmen wele. Thus was the com-  
mentie abstract & deuyded from the lordes. So was the cite deuyded into two partes. And the cōmen wele which was in h̄ myndes bytwene thē on euery syde was pylled / robbed / & biterly wasted of them both: on both sydes. But the power of the noble men and of theyz party was more myghty than the power of h̄ cōmens. For all the estates were all togyder assem-  
bled/contoyned / & vnyed. But the cōmens were dispesed and spredde abrode into dyuerse places and compaynes gettyngē theyz lyueng with labourt of theyz handes & swet of theyz bo-  
dys. So every thyng was gouerned in peace and in warre at pleasure & aduise of a fewe priuate noble men. The cōmen treasure / the prouynces/ maistershypes/offices/tributes/ worshyppe/tryumphes/and all other thynges longyng to ho-  
nour or auantage were onely in handis & possession of the same fewe noble men. But the simple cōmen people was veryed & oppresed with pouerty/with batayle/and warfare. Euer in jeopardy/and neuer in auantage nor lucce. For the captayns with a fewe other noble men pulle suchē prayes as were ta-  
ken in batayle onely to theyz singuler auantage and behose. But in the meane season the parentes & small chylđen of the soudyo's were dryuen from their dwellyng places & posselli-  
ons by the sayd noble men: echone of them by that lordē unto whom they dwelled nerest. And so the myght & power of such noble men contayned with immoderate couetise assayed/defy-  
led / wasted/and dystroyed every thyng without good maner without measure or moderation: hauyng no respect nor cōsy-  
deracion of any thyng belongyng to goodnes or vertue: tyll they had so farforth proceded that at conclusion they were dys-  
troyed & ouerthowen by theyz owne obstinate pride & tyran-  
ny. But at last assone as euer some of the estates were soude whiche remembryng and consydryng themselfe: set more by true and laudable glory / than by iniust power and dignite. And were moued in myndes by compassion to shewe mercy &

cet ea que res secunde a-  
mant: lasciuia / atque su-  
pbia incellete. Ita (quod  
in aduersis rebus optaue-  
rant ) ocium postq̄ adep-  
ti sunt: acerbius / asperi-  
us que tulere.

Nam cepece nobilitas di-  
gnitatē in dñationē: po-  
pulus libertatē in libidi-  
nem vertere: sibi quisq;  
ducere trahere / rapere.

Ita om̄ia induas partes  
abtracta sunt . respubli-  
ca / quæ media fuerat di-  
lacēata est.

Caterū nobilitas factio-  
ne mag; pollebat plebis.

Vis soluta ac dispersa in  
multitudine minus pote-  
rat.

Paucorum arbitrio belli  
domique respublica agi-  
tabatur: penes eosdē ex-  
aratum / prouincie / magi-  
stratus / glorie / triumphi  
que erant.

Populus militia atque i-  
opia virgebatur.

Predas bellicas impato-  
res cū paucis diripiēbāt.

Interea parētes aut pat-  
ui liberi militū (vti quis  
que potentiori confinis  
erat) sedibus pellebātū.  
Ita cum potentia auari-  
tia sine modo modestiaq;  
inuadere polluere / et va-  
stare omnia: nihil pēsi ne  
que sancti habere: quo ad  
semetipsā precipitauit.

nā vbi p̄m̄ ep nobilitate  
reptisint / qm̄ verā glo-  
ria / m̄frē potentie an-  
poneret: sic moneri ci-

## The batayle

nitas et dissensio emulis/  
quasi pemptio terre o-  
riri cepit.

Nā postq Tiberius et Caius Gracchus (quorū maiores in punico bello atq alij multum respubl ex addiderāt yndicare plebem in libertatē: et paucorum scelera patefacte ceperū nobilitas noxiā atque eo pculsa modo p socios ac nomē latīnū interdum per equites romanos (quos spes societatis a plebe dimouerat) Gracchorum actionibus obuiā erat: et primo Tiberiū deinde paucos post annos ingredientem eadēm Caīum tribunum alterum triumvīrū inēducendis colonijs; cū Marcho Fulvio Flacco ferro necauerat. Et sane Gracchis cupidine victorie nō fatis moderatus fuit.  
Sed bono vinci faciū est: q malo more iniuriā vincere.

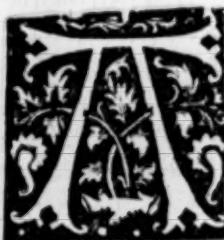
Igitur ea victoria nobilitas ex libidine sua vsa multos mortalis ferro aut fuga extinxit: plusq in reliquum sibi timoris q potentie addidit.

Quæ res plerumque magnas ciuitates pessundebit dū alteri alteros vincere quouis modo et viatos acerbius vlcisci volunt. Sed de studijs patritium oībus que ciuitatis morib⁹ si singulatim aut pro magnitudine parēt dissentere: tps q̄ res matutinus me deserret. Quam obrem ad inceptum redēo.

pyte agaynst the cōmente and to socour their misery than began the cite to be troubled and moued greuously for the courage of the cōmens was reuyued by supprexion of such noble men: by meanes wherof discorde and deuision began to rysle in the cite as it were drye dust of the grounde rayled in a great & tempestuous wynde. For after that Tiberius Gracchus & Caius Gracchus (whose progenitours moch encreased the cōmen wayle in many batayls / but namely in the batayle of Carthage) began to restore the commētie into theyz olde libertie and to detect the cruciall myldeves of the fewe inſtious estates. Than all the lordes cōfederate: and after maner chased with yre assembled theyz felowes / as Latyntans and some knyghtes of Rome which in hope of p̄mōcion left the cōmens party and helde with the noble men. All these with ſuche as were to them lenyng of other nations began to withstande the accuſemētes of both the ſayd Gaccus whiche were fauourers of the cōmenty: & firſt of all they ſlew Tiberius Gracchus. And after that within a fewe yeres they ſlew the other brother named Caius Gracchus whyle he was pteator of the cōmenty: bycause that he acordyng to lawe & right deuided among the poore cōmenteſ ſuch landz as they had won in batayle of theyz ennemites. And at the ſame ſeason the estates put to deth alſo a lord named Marcus Faccus bycause he defended the cōmens liberte agaynst theyz extortiōn. But thou chyng the two bheren Tiberius and Caius Gracchus: lothely their myndes were greatly immoderate and unmeſurable in theyz deſyze to ouercome theſtates. Neuertheleſſe it had be moche better to theſtates to haue ſuffred them in theyz ryghts wyle tytell & ſomwhat to haue inclyned to theyz myndes than to haue ouercome them ſo violently and ſlayne them ſo iniuriously/howbeit that they were ouer hasty & bcsy. But whan theſtates had the victory of them after their deſyze & pleasure than put they to deth the cōmenty without nombre / and many they exiled & droue out of the cite. Inſomoch that fro thens forth they rather encreased theyz cructie and feare to the cōmens than their owne honoure or power. By which meanes many worthy ciuites haue often tymes ben dystroyed whyle the estates and cōmens contendē the one to ouercome the other by one meane or other. And whyle the party byttere wyll punyſſhe ouer greuously that party whiche is ouercome. But yf I wold prepare to write of the besynelle and dedes of both the parties ſeriatly & diſtinctly. And yf I ſhulde touche all the maners of the cite acordyng to the gretnesse of the matter and as it requyret: lothely the cyrſe ſhuld fayle me rather than the mater. Wherfore I wyll ompt this ſuperfluuous and

infinite besynes / and retourne to my first mater and purpose  
touchyng this cronycle of this tyzanne Jugurth.

**C**howe Metellus was creat consull and sende  
by the Romayns to warre agaynste Jugurthe: &  
of the wyle and dyscrete behauour of the same  
Metellus.      **C**he. xxviii. chapyter.



After the truse and composition of Julius before sayde made with Jugurth / & the soule & shamsfull flyght of the romayne army: Quintus Metellus / and Marcus Sillanus / were creat & proclaimed consuls of Rome / whiche acordyng to the olde custome parted & deuyded the prouynces belonging to Rome byt wene them bothe. The countrey of Numidye fell and happened to Metellus. This Metellus was a fierce man and a noble & a worthy warryour. And howbeit he sauoured the party of the noble men and was contrary to the party of the commons: nevertheles he was of fame vndefyled & vnuylat / and couuted of good name indifferetly on both parties. Ialone as ever this Metellus entred in his office & dignite / he thought that every thyng apertayning to his towm & charge beloged as well to his partyng felowe as to hymselfe / saue the warre of Numidye: whiche onely belonged to hymselfe & to his pticuler charge: Wherfore he compited all other charges to Sillanus / and onely sette his mynd to make prouysion for h warre agaynst Jugurth. But bycause he mistru sted the olde army whiche was in Numidye with Albinus & Julius / and had no confydence in the myndes of these soudyo's corrupted with ydelnes & many other vices: therfore he elected and assembled newe soudyours. And of all suche as were felowes & frenches confederate to the Romayns / he called for helpe & socours. He prepared & made ready armouse / weppyn / horse harnes / and all other ordynance expediet to warfare. And also he ordayned abundaunce of bytayls. And shortly to speke all thyngs / he ordayned whiche at wont to be necessary & profitable to the batiable chaunces & incertayne accidentes / and leopardies of warre / whiche requyret reparation of many thynges & chargeable. But suche as were felowes of the empire of Rome at instaunce & request of the senatours: and by theyz authorite and by the Latintans & many other stran ge kynges of theyz owne frewyll sent socours to Metellus to auaunce hym in his enterprize: And shortly to speke the hole

Off Auli sedus sexere  
citus que nostri fugā  
sedam Quintus Men-  
tellus et Marcus Silla-  
nus consules designati/  
prouintias inter se parti-  
uerant.

Metelloq Numidia ob-  
uenierat / acri viro: et q̄q  
aduerso populi partibus/  
fama tamen æquabili et  
inuiolata.

Is vbi primum magistras  
tū ingressus est: alia om-  
nia sibi cum collega coia-  
ratus ad bellum quod ge-  
sturus erat haim intēdit.

Igitur dissidēs veteri ex  
ercitui: milites eligere /  
scribere / presidia vndiq  
accersere / arma / tela / e-  
quos / et cætera instru-  
ta milite parare: ad hoc  
cōmeatum affatim: deni-  
que omnia quæ in bello  
vario et multatum ter-  
egenti / vsu esse solent.

Cæterum ad ea patran-  
da senatus autoritate/  
socij / nomēque latinū / et  
reges. Postremo ois ciuit-  
tas summo studio adnites-  
bantur.

## The batayle

Itaque ex sententia omni-  
tatis rebus paratis/com-  
positis quoniam Numidiam  
proficitur magna spe  
cuius: tum propter artis  
bonas: tu maxime qd ad-  
uersum diuitias inuidum  
animum gerebat: et auar-  
itia magistratum ante  
id tempus in Numidia no-  
stre opes contuse: hostiis  
que aucte erant. Sed ubi  
in Africam venit: exerci-  
itus ei traditur a Spu-  
rio Albinu pro consule in-  
ters imbecillis: neq; peri-  
culi neque laboris pati-  
ens: lingua qd manu prom-  
ptior: predator ex socijs:  
et ipse preda hostium si-  
ne imperio & modestia ha-  
bitus. Ita imperatori no-  
uo plus e malis maiori-  
bus solicitudinis qd ex co-  
pia militu auxiliu aut bo-  
nia spei accedebat. Statu-  
it tamen Metellus qd et  
estuorum tps comitioru  
mora imminuerat: et ex-  
pectatione euentus cuius-  
um aios intentos putab-  
antur prius bellum at-  
tingere: qd maioru disci-  
plina milites laborare  
coegerat. Nam Albinus  
Auli fratri exercitusq  
clade percussus postq de-  
creuerat non egredi pro-  
vincia: qdum temporis asti-  
uorū in imperio fuit: ple-  
rumque milites in status  
castris habebat: nisi  
cum odore: aut pabuli e-  
ges: as locum mutare sub-  
egerat. Sed neque more  
militari vigilie duceban-  
tur: vti cuiq; libebat: ab  
signis aberat. Lixa pnum  
ti cum equiibus die no-  
nique vagabantur: & pas-  
lantes agros vastare: vil-  
las expugnare: pecoris et

civis laboured withall they: myght to socoure and ayde Metellus in his besynesse. Thus at last whan euery thyng was prouyded and sette in order after his pleasure & intent: than toke he his tourney into Numidu with gret hope of all the cytessis of Rome that for his good maners: and specially for that his mynde was bnowercde with rychesse or couerispe hat he shuld do more honoure to the empire than his predecessor's had in the warre of Numidu. For before his partyng the welth of Numidu (by coueryse of the officers of Rome) was augmented: but the welth of the Romayns wasted and demis nished. Whan Metellus was come to Afrike the army was deluyered vnto hym by Albinus: which army was vncrafty / fluggyshe / & feble nouther able to endure partyll nor labour / of tungis more redy/fiers / and hardy than of hande: whiche was wont to robbe / and pyll from felowes and frendes of the empire. But it selfe endured by cowardise to be robbed and spoyled of ennemis of the empire / as a lawlesse & dysordred company of men vngouerned & without authorite or maners. Wherfore Metellus the newe captyayne hadde moche more thought & besynesse for such corrupt & vicious maners of a company so farre out of order: than he hadde helpe or good hope of confort in the multitude of them. Thus howebeit he sawe the tyme of election of newe consuls drawenere. And all yf he also vnderstode that the Romayns dayly loked after some ende of the warre. These causes nat withstandyng yet he concluded nat to begyn the warre till he had exercysed and vsed the soudyo's with besynesse & labour aft the instruction and custome of olde captayns vsed before his tyme. For why Albinus was so astonyed with the aduersite & myschaunce of his brother Julius and for murdere of his hoost: that after he purposed nat to depart out of the romayns prouince whiche was in Afrike / he kept the soudyo's alway ydell in they: tens-  
tes as longe as the somer season lasted & as long as he was in authorite in somoche that they chaunged no place except the corrupt sauour of the place/or els necessite of batayle constrainned them to remoue. Nor accordyng to the custome & maner of warrours amonge them was no wachte: but euery man came & went at his owne pleasure / and absented thenselue from they: standarde whan it lyked them. The scolyons & pages wanded day & nyght mengled among the horsemen & chife of the soudyo's without any order: And many other as rouers dyspersed abzode destroyed the countrey / fyghtynge agaynst the small villages & nat agaynst citees nor townes. They carryed away from the sayd villages prayes of carell: and the inhabitateis ledde away also with them as prisoners with other

with other prayes stryuyng togyder whc myght haue most; and than after chaunged the sayde roberies with marchauntes for delycious & strong wynes carryed from other strange countreis where better wyne grewe than in that countrey: and for other suche delycious thyngs. They solde away the whete and other vitayles whch was delyuered of theyz capptayns among them in comen & dely they bought theyz bread. And finally what euer shame or rebuke longyng to couetyse or les chery: coude outher be sayd/done/or ymagined of any man: all was vled in that hoolst. And among some: more shamesfull dedes than ought to be named. But Metellus behaued hym selfe as a myghty & wylle man/ nat leesse this difficultie & hard nesse/ than if it had ben in a batayle foughte agaynst his ennemis as he which in myddes of so great couetyse/ voluptuositie/ & cruelty was syngulerly indued with teperaunce: & merciuous good maner vled he in coartyng the same fautes. Wherfore at the first begynnyng he withdrawe & auoyded from the army at his commaundement & ordinaunce: the occasions which syzed the soudyours to suche slouth/cowardys/ and voluptuosity. So he commaunded vnder great payne that no person shulde be so hardy to sell among the soudyours nouther bread nor other vitayle all reddy dresed saue the comen poulson: that the pages/waterlaggeres & scolysons shuld nat coe neare the army/nor folowe the same. That none of the comen & simple soudours shulde kepe or mentayne seruaunt nor beest in theyz tentes nor byage/whyle they moued fro place to place. These inconueniences first of all he redressed & reformed. After these amended: all other fautes he mesured by his wisdome/craft/and policy: refourmyng them by lytell & lytell. This done (to haue his soudyours occupied) he moued dely from place to place: and that nat in wayes comen & vled/but by harde and vnoccupyed wayes. He caused them dayly to cast dychesse & trenches about the army/to the intent that they shuld nat ware slouthfull/nor vicious by overmuch rest & ydlenesse. He ordayned often watche among them every nyght: and he hymselfe accompanied with his vnder captayns and heed officers often serched pf the watches were truely kept/copassynge about the armyn on every syde. Whyle they remoued & chaunged places: somtyme he was in the forwarde and amonge the first: somtyme in the retewarde or hyndre part/and anone in the myddes ouersleynge theyz order to the intent that none shulde passe out of order/away/and place to them assignd. But kepe thicke togyder euery man & company about theyz owne standerd/and also he ordayned that among themselves they shulde conuey & cary theyz owne vitayles and

Jugurth.

G.t.

mancipiorum predat/erantes agere: eaque mustare cu[m] marcatrib[us] pr[ib] uno aduictio et alijs talibus.

Præterea frumentum publice datum vendere: panem indies mercari. Postremo quæcumq[ue] dici aut singi queunt ignauie luxurieq[ue] probra in illo exercitu cuncta fuere: et alia amplius. Sed in ea difficultate Metellū non minus q[uod] in rebus hostiliis magnum et sapientē virum fuisse cōperio: tan ta temperātia inter ambitionem sevitiamq[ue] moderatū. Nāq[ue] editio primo adiumenta ignauias dicif sustulit: ne quisq[ue] i castris panem/aut quem alium cibum coctum venderet: ne lice sequeretur exercitum: ne miles gregarius in castris/ ne ue in agmine seruū aut iumentum haberet.

Ceteris arte modum statuisse. Præterea transuersis itinerib[us] quotidie castra mouere: vallo ac fossa munire: vigilias crebras ponere: et eas ipse cum legatis circuire.

Item i agmine in primis modo: modo i postremis: sape in medio adesse: ne quispiam ordine & agrederetur: vt cum signis frequenter incederent milie cibum et arma portaret.

## The batayle

Ita prohibedo a delictis  
magis q̄ vindicando exer-  
citum breut cōstituauit.

armoure. And thus in shor tyme he conserued and sette the  
army in good orde rather with fayre wordes or rebukyng &  
blamynge they; fautes: & pro hybityng their dysoordet: than in  
chastislyng or punysshynge their offēces wrygour or cueltie.

**C**Of the behauour of Jugurth agaynst Metellus: and howe he sende embassadours to Metellus requyring vnsaynedly to yelde vp the kyngdomme of Numidy to the empyre of Rome: And howe Metellus behaued hymselfe agaynst the same embassadours. **C**The xxix. chapyter.

**I**n trea Jugurtha vbi  
ea quæ Metellus age-  
bat ex nūcijs accepit: si-  
mul de innocētia ei⁹ cer-  
tior Rome fact⁹ diffidere  
suis rebus: actum de num  
veram deditiōnem face-  
sere conatus est.

**I**gitur legatos ad consu-  
lem cum supplicijs mit-  
tit. Qui tantummodo ipsi  
liberis que vitā peteret:  
alia omnia dederent po-  
pulo Romano. Sed Me-  
tello iā antea experimē-  
sis cognitum erat genus  
pumidarum infidum: in-  
genio mobili: nouarū re-  
rum audum esse. Itaque  
legatos alium ab alio di-  
uersos aggreditur: ac pau-  
latim tentando postq̄ op-  
portunos sibi cognouit:  
multa pollicendo persua-  
det: vt Jugurtham maxie-  
viuum: sin id parum pro-  
cedat: necatum sibi trade-  
rent.  
**C**etera palam quæ ex vo-  
luntate forent nunciari  
regi iubet.



**M**the meane seaso whan Jugur-  
the vnderstode by messangers & espynes of  
this behauour of Metellus: and also whā  
he remembred that which was infourmed  
to hym at Rome of the integryte and vns-  
defyled name of Metellus / whiche wold  
nat be corrupte with money nor accleyed  
with brybes lyke other before: he began to mystruse his mat-  
ters and to haue lasse confydence in his cause/ thanne euer he  
had before. In somoche that than he began to laboure to yel-  
de hymselfe vnsaynedly / and to make a trewe composytor  
with Metellus / and the Romayns without any fycyon / gys-  
te/or discept. Wherfore he sende embassadours with supplicas-  
cions & petitiones/requyring humbly of Metellus to graunt  
to hym his owne lyfe: and the lyfe of his chylđren onely: and  
concernyng all other thyngs he wolde yelde them into handes  
of the romayns. But Metellus knewe well ynough long be-  
fore this tyme by often experiance & profe þ the Numidians of  
naturall disposition were vnsaythfull/mouable/and vnsable  
of myndes: newfangled and moche desyrous of newe besy-  
nesse & newtelies. Wherfore he began with the embassadours  
of Jugurth/ castyng and prouyng the mynde of eche of them/  
by lytell and lytell: and separatly one by one. And whan he  
knewe that they somewhat inclined to his purpose: he than pro-  
myled to them great gyftes & promocion so that they wold do  
some pleasure for hym & for the senatours & people of Rome.  
Than at last he counsayled and desyzed them to delþuer Ju-  
gurth to hym alwyue specially if it myght be brought about:  
and yf they coude nat so/than to delþuer hym outhier quicke  
or deed. But whan he had made this apoyntement secretly  
with themballadours deuyded in sonder one by one: than

## of Jugurth.

openly (that every man myght here) he shewed to them all to gyder other thynges as his pleasure was that they shuld ceras tyfie their kyng Jugurth concernyng their embassade. After this within fewe dayes whan he sawe his hoost moost redy and contrary to Jugurth he remoued his tentes and so addredded hym with his army redy in array and went forward into Numidya: where contrary to any similitude of warre the byllages and cotages were full of men the fildes full of beestis and tylmen: and euery where was moche plenty of people yonge and olde namely rude people & tyllers of the grounde/ whiche had styll fled before the army in feare/ but at the last whan they sawe no defence nor socoure the kynges lewtenantes and all other left their townes/ villages/ and lodges/ and went forthe to mete Metellus withall humilitie/ honour/ and seruice submittynge themselfe to hym/ and redy to gyue to hym whete and other coyne suche as they had. And to carry vitayles after his hoost to ease the soudyours and to do and parfouyme all other thynges what euer they were commaunded. But for all this: Metellus was nat lesse diligent nor circumspect in orderyng of his hoost / but proceeded forwarde to gyder with his army / array redy in armoure and defended as if they/ ennemis had ben nere at hande serchynge the countrey abroade on euery syde by his espyes bountynge treason and thynkyng that all these tokens of subiectiōn were but for a face or cloke to couer the treason & gyle of Jugurth. And so by suche dyscretiō to wayt a tymē to execute his treason. Wherfore Metellus thus mysdemyng kept hymselfe in the forwarde of the hoost with an elect and chosen company of archers/ slyngers/ and other lyke soudyours apoynted in lyght harnes. His vnder captayne Catus Marus had ruse and charge of the rewarde amone the horsmen and on bothe the wynges of his hoost he ordyned horsmen & other soudyours for supplement/ subsidy/ and socours of the forwarde yf nedē shulde requyre / and amone them to expell their ennemis on what syde so euer they shulde come / were mengled bowmen and other lyght hastysed fotemen with darras/ pykes/ and iauelyns to trouble the horsmen of theyr ennemis. For in Jugurth was so moche gyle so great experiance and knowledge of the countrey/ and also so great p̄asctye of chyualrie: that a man coude nat well knowe whether he were more to be doubted or more greuous in peace or in wate or whyle he was absent or present.

**Jugurth.**

G. li.

Deinde paneis diebus in tento atque infesto exercitu in Numidiam procedit. Vbi contra bellū faciem tuguria plena hominum: pecora / cultoresq; in agris erant: ex oppidis et mapalibus profecti regis obuiam procedebant: parati frumentum dare: cōmeatum portare.

Postremo omnia quae imperarentur facere.

Neque Metellus idcirco min⁹ sed pariter ac si hostes adessent: munito agmine icedere: late explosare: oīa illa deditiois sīg: a ostētui esse credere: & insidijs locum tentare.

Itaq; eū expeditis cohortibus: item funditorū et sagittariorū delecta manus apud primos erat.

Postremo Caius Marius legatus cum equitib⁹ curabat. In vtrumque lat⁹ auxiliarios equites tribunis legionū et prefectis cohortum dispartierant ut cū his velites pmixti quoquā accederent: equitat⁹ hostiū ppulsarēt. Nam in Jugurtha ratus dolus / tantaque peritia locorum et militie erat: vt absens an presens pacem an bellum gerens p̄nitiosior esset: in incerto haberetur. Erat haud lōge ab eo itinere quo Metellus p̄gebat opidū Nus-

## The batayle

midatum nois Vaccum for-  
rum rerum venaliū totiū  
regni: et maxime celebra-  
tū: vbi et incolere: et mer-  
cari res consueuerāt Ita-  
lici generis multi morta-  
les. Huic consul simul te-  
tandi ḡia et capiundi (si  
paterent oportunitates  
loci) presidium imposuit.  
Præterea impauit frumē-  
tū et alia quæ bello vñsi  
forent cōportare: ratus  
(id quod res monebat) fre-  
quētiā negociatorū et  
cōmeatū etiā paratis re-  
bus munimento fore. In-  
ter hec negotia Iugurtha  
impensis modo legatos  
suplices mittere: pacem  
rogare: preter suam libe-  
torumque vitam Metell-  
lo omnia dedere.

Quos itē (vt priores) cō-  
sul illectos dimittebat  
ad proditionem: regi pa-  
cem (quam postulabat) ne-  
que abnuere: nēque polli-  
ceri: et inter eas moras  
promissa legatorū ex pe-  
cate.

Iugurtha vbi Metelli di-  
cta cum tactis composu-  
st: ac se suis artibus ten-  
et: aduertit (Quippe  
eui pax verbis nunciaba-  
tur: cæterum rebellum a-  
sperrimū erat: Vtibz ma-  
xima alienata:

Ager hostibus cognitus:  
animi popularium tenta-  
ti coactus rerum necessi-  
tudine statuit armis cō-  
sare.

treis: and the princypall market towne of all the kyngdome  
of Numidy. This towne was named Vacca / Metellus b̄z  
we hym and his army thyder / and set garnyson into the same  
towne. This byd he to proue the myndes of the inhabytan-  
tes: for if they had kept forth the garnyson / thanne shulde they  
evidently haue declared themselfe ennemis of the romayns.  
And also he ledde a garnyson thyder to thintent to haue taken  
the towne by force of armes / yf the inhabytantes wolde nat  
haue admittid the same garnyson. Also he commaunded by-  
tayls / and all other thynges necessary or expedient to warre  
for to be brought thyder thinkynge (as the case required) that  
the concours of marchantes resorcyng thyder. And his good  
prouision of bytayls shulde be greate defence and consetuacy-  
on for hym and his army bothe in warre and in peace. But  
whan the citezins sawe such purueyance as he made of vitels  
considering that he shulde nat hurt noz disprouyde them whys-  
se he had bytell ynough of his owne prouision: anon they ope-  
ned the gates and luffred hym to entre withall his garnyson  
and retynue. But in the mean tyme Jugurtha agayne sende  
his embassadours to Metellus more diligently and instau-  
ly than he had done before: mekely besechyng and requyrgyng  
hym of peace: And yeldyng vnto hym euery thyng / onely re-  
serued his owne lyfe: and the lyfe of his chylđren. Metellus  
sende these embassadours home agayne atysled to the prody-  
cion of their maister Jugurtha as he had done to the other em-  
bassadours which were sent before. But concernyng þ peace  
whitch they desyzed in their maisters name: nouther he graū-  
ted nor vitterly denied it. And in this prolongyng of tyme he  
loked alway after parfourmynge of the promesse of the other  
embassadours / whiche before had graunted to the betrayeng  
of Jugurtha. But whan Jugurtha consydred and pondered to  
gyder the wordes & dedes of Metellus / and whan he parcey-  
ued in mynde himselfe assayed with his owne craftes of sub-  
tyte: and that Metellus vsed suche craftes agaynst hym / as  
he hymselfe had vsed agaynst other: than was his mynd gree-  
ued most of all. For Metellus sayned peace / but in very dede  
heshevēd sharpe warre. Jugurtha thus cosydred also: that his  
greatest towne named Vacca / was alienate & lost from hym:  
his ennemis by longe continuance and exercis knewe the  
coostes of his countrey of Numidy. The myndes of his  
lordes and comens were prouoked and moued agaynst hym.  
Whan he aduyled these difficulties with other mo contrary to  
hym he excludid & fully determined at last to relyst and with-  
stane Metellus in batayle / with strength & force of armes and  
no farther to make noz submitte hymselfe by petition.

**C**howe Jugurth prepared and addressed hymself agayne to warre: and what ordynaunce and policy he vsed agaynst the newe consull Metellus.

**C**he. xxx. chapyter.

**W**herfore Jugurth thus determinyng to assayle Metellus cause his wayes to be espyed hauyng hope of victorie by auauncement & auaantage of some place: where he intended of the place and countrey: and anone prepared the greatest armys he coude of all sortes of people. This done he dyd so moche that by hylles/narowe passages & by pathes he preuented an ouerpassesthe hoost of Metellus. **¶** In that partie of Numidie whiche before incouision of the kyngdome was assigned in possestyon to Idherball: was a flosse named Muthull/rennyng from the meridional part of the countrey. A certayne hyll high and longe was nere to this water/so that at any place the hyll was about. xx. myle from the streme and of equall dystance in length. The grounde of this hyll was of luche nature that ever it was batayne/wherefore it was nat apte to mennes habitacion but desert. About the myddes and pendant of it was an other hyll smaller of quantite:but of an unmesurable heght couered and all ouer grown with wylde olipue trees / with myl trees / & other sortes of trees wont to growe naturally on dry & sandy grounde. The playne bytwene the hylles and the water was desert and vnhabitable for lacke of water: save such places of the playne as were nere to flosse of Muthull which part was grown with small trees and occupied with men & beestes. Jugurth came to the sayd small hyll whiche descended from the pendant of the hyll greater ouerthwart the valey. And ther toke place with his armys nat togyder but dispersed abrode amonge the trees by companyes and bendes/he made his frende Bosmilchar capitaine and governour of his oliphantes/ and of part of his armys of foremen and infouerned hym partitchly howe he shulde behau hymselfe and gouerne them whome he had committet to hym bothe before the batayle/and also in the batayle whan it came to the poynt. But he hymselfe drewe never to the great hyll withall the horsmen and many of the foremen whiche were elect and chosen men/and sette them in ordre and array with moche policy and wisedome. This done: he hymselfe went about & compassed every compayny cohort/and bende syngulerly:and one by one warnynge and

Jugurth.

G.iii.

**I**gitur explorato itinere hostium/in spem visitoriae adductus ex opportunitate loci:q; maximas copias potest: oim generu parat: ac per tramites occultos exercitum Metelli anteuenit.

Frat in ea Numidie parte: quā Adherbal in divisione pollederat: flumen oriens a meridie homine Muthula quo mens abserat ferme milia passuum viginti tractu parti: vastus a natura et humano cultu alienat: sed ex eo medio quasi collis oriebat/ in immensum pertingens/ vestitus oleastro/ ac myrtheris/ alijsq; arborū generibus/ que humo arida atq; arenosa gigruntur. Media autem planities deserta erat penuria aquae/ppter flumini propins qua loca:ea confita arbustis/pecore atque cultibus frequentabantur.

Igitur in eo colle (quem transuerso itinere posset etum docui<sup>m</sup>) Jugurtha extenuata acie suorū cōsedit: elephantis et partiti copiarū pedestribū Bosmilcharem prescit: eumq; edocet/quaē ageret: ipse proprior montem cum omnī equitatu atque pedib⁹ delectis suos collucet.

Deinde singulas turmas et manipulos circuens: monet atque obtestatur: ut memores pristine vir-

## The batayle

tutis op̄e victorie: se seire  
gratiaque ab Romanorū  
statuera defendant. Cum  
his certamen fore quos  
antea victos sub iugum  
misserint. Duce illis non  
animum mutatum.

Quæ ab imperatore decue-  
runt omnia suis prouis-  
is: locum superiorem: ut  
prudētes cum imperitis/  
ne pauciores cum plurimis/  
aut rudes cum bello  
in melioribus manum con-  
sererent: proinde parti  
intentiq; essent signo da-  
to Romanos inuadere.  
Illum dñe aus omnis la-  
bores et victorias confit-  
maturū: aut maximam in  
erumnam initū fore.  
Ad hoc viritum: ut quēq;  
ob militare facinus pe-  
cunia: aut honore extu-  
lerat cōmone facere be-  
neficij: et eum ipsum ali-  
js ostentare.

Postremo pro cuiusque i-  
genio: pollicendo: mini-  
zando: ostentando: alium  
alio modo excitare.

Cum interim Metellus i-  
gnarus hostium monte  
degrediens cum exercitu  
conspicitur: primo dubius/  
quidnam insolita fac-  
ies ostenderet. Nam in-  
ter virgulta equi Numi-  
de que considerant: neq;  
plane occultati humili-  
tate arbosum: et tamen  
incertum: quidnam esset:  
cum natura loci: tum dos-  
ti: ipsi atque militaria  
signa obscurati. Deinde  
breui cognitis insidijs/  
paulisper agmē constituit:  
Ibi cōmunitatis ordinibus  
Id exstro latere: quod pro-  
ximum hostib; erat: tri-

requy:inge them to call to theyz myndes theyz olde strength  
nobles and victorie: and there by to defende themselfe and  
their countrey of Numidie from the immoderate couerte of  
the romayns / whiche were nat content nor satisfied with the  
possession of the most part of the woldē / saynge fothermore  
that they shulde syght but with suche as they before had auer-  
come and subdued. And howebeit they had chaunged theyz  
captayne: the cowardise of their heres was nat chaunged:  
Also he rehersed & declared to the that he had made all prouis-  
ion for them whiche a captayne mygh or ought to make for  
his army. He declared howe he had taken for them the vpper  
place: that they were crafty in batayle and many in nombre: &  
shulde syght with a fewe vncrafty cowarde. Wherfore he des-  
syred & exhorted them whan tymē shulde come that than they  
wolde be redy to assayle the Romayns manly at sounde of  
the trumpettes / for that one same day sayd he shulde outher  
establishe all theyz laboures / victories / and besynesses: or elis  
it shulde be the heed and begynnyng of their most great mys-  
chefe / and dystruccion. Moreouer throughout all his army  
he put them in remembraunce man by man of þ benefites which  
he had done to them before for their manly dedes of chualtry:  
as suche as for their worthynes he had rewarded with digni-  
te / money / offices / or other worshyp: and shewed suche unto  
other comen soudours sayeng that if they wolde so demeane  
themselfe manly: so sholde they be promoted and auanced to  
worshyp and ryches. And thus he conforted them all every  
man after his maners and condicions / some with gyftes / some  
with promises / some with thretyninges / and other lyke wāys  
acordynge to the disposition of their myndes and nature.

¶ Whyle Jugurth thus exhorted his soudours Metellus  
nought knowyng of his ennemis apered with his company  
dyscēoyng downe the pendant of the great hyll whiche at first  
seynng but fewe men moche marueled what it myght signis-  
fie / for he suspected nothyng lesse than barayle: but in behols-  
dyng more intelyly to warde the toppe of the small hyll afore  
hym he espyed among the yong trees bothe horse & men whis-  
che weyr nat fully hyd / bycause of the lownesse of the trees. yet  
was he incertayne what it myght be. for what by secretnes  
of the place: and what by gyle of Jugurth / their baners & the  
most part of the soudours were obscured & hyd lyeng downe  
upon the grounde. But anone after whan he parceyued this  
gyle & treason: by lytell & lytell / he set his army in array prece-  
dynge forwarde sy'l / as he dyd before / saynyng hymselfe  
ignorāt of the treason. But he chaunged the order of his sou-  
dours: and on the ryght wyng whiche was next to the þus-

midpens his ennemis he ordyned as it were a forwarde en  
forced with a threfoldc subtly of socoutes that is to say with  
thre bendes of proued soudyours to rescue & helpe them whan  
nede shuld be. The archers suche as wch syngs shulde cast  
agaynst their enimis plumbetti of led & yron & all other whiche  
were of lyght harnes: all these he deuided among the slandet-  
des of other soudyours as the case requyzed: Where as after  
the ryght ordynaunce of batayle / suche soudyours by them  
selue deuyded shuld begyn the batayle / but in this batayle the  
sytuacion of the place nat so requyzed. All the hole company of  
his horsmen he ordyned in the extremitees & cozners of the foxes  
front of the batayle. This done as the breuyte of the tyme suffi-  
fled he made a short exhortacion vnto his soudyo's / & so pro-  
ceded forth with his hoost leste in array in maner before sayd:  
but bycause Jugurth was on the small hyll before hym and  
by that meane on the hyet grounde he thought to remedy that  
incōmodite & led forth his hoost on the syde halfe nat towarde  
Jugurth / but alonge on the hyll towarde the flosode of Mus-  
thull into the playne which was betwene the hyll & the flosode.  
But whan he sawe the Numidens quiped and tht they de-  
parted nat from the hyll whiche they had taken he colyd the  
hete and feruentnes of the somer season. And lyst his army  
myght peryshe for lacke or scarfitz of water: he sent before  
one of his capitayns named Rutilius with a company of lyght  
harnessed soudyours and part of his horsmen into the flosode  
named Musthull for to take vp a place wher in they myght  
set their tentes in tyme of nede: thynkyng that his enemies  
wylling to continue longe up that place by often assauies and  
scarmysshys shulde disturbe the romans whyle they relaxed  
to the water. And for as moche as the Numidiens trusted nat  
moche in their strength and armoure. He thought that they  
purposed and intended to trouble his soudyo's with werynes  
and thurst. Whan Rutilius was gone towarde the water  
Metellus descended procedyng forth withall by lytell & lytell  
as the mater and place requyzed: he commaunded one named  
Marius / with his company to kepe in the rewarde. But  
Metellus hymselfe with the horsmen kept hym in the syde  
wyng of the forwarde of the batayle / whiche alway remoued  
forwarde first of all his army.

**C**Of the fyrd batayle foughten by-  
twene Metellus and Ju-  
gurth. **C**The. xxxi.  
chappyter.

phicibus subsidij action  
instruxit: inter manus  
los funditores et sagitta-  
rios dispergit.

equitatū omnem in cor-  
nibus locat:  
ac pauca pro tempore mi-  
litis horribus: aciem si-  
cuti instruxerat: transuer-  
sis principis in planum  
deducit,

Sed ubi Numidas quie-  
tos neque d'gressos col-  
le animaduerit: ex anni-  
tempore veritus et inopia  
aque ne siti conficeretur  
exercitus: Rutiliū legas-  
tum cū expeditis cohorta-  
tibus et parte equitū pre-  
misit ad flumen: ut locū  
castris ante caperet: exis-  
timans cōtra hostes im-  
petu et transuersis prelia-  
is iterū remoraturos: et  
(quoniam armis diffide-  
ret) lassitudinem et sitim  
militum tetatueros.

Deinde ipse prore atque  
loco sicuti monte descen-  
derat: et paulatim proce-  
dere Marium post princi-  
pia habecupse cum equi-  
tibus sinistra ala else qui  
in agmine princeps facti  
erant.

## The batayle

**A**T Jugurtha vbi ex tremū agmen Metelli primos suos prætergessum videt: præ sidio quasi duū miliū peditum montem occupat: quo Metellus descendebat: ne forte cedentibus aduersarijs receptui: ac post munimento foret. Deinde repente signo dato hostes inuidit. Numidae alij postremos cædere pars a sinistra ac dextra tentare: infestis adesse: instare: atque omnibus locis romanorum ordines conturbare. Quorum etiam qui firmioribus animis obuij hostibus fuerant iudicati incerto prælio: ipsi modo eminus saucia habatur: neq; contra feriendi aut conferendi manum copia erat.

Ante iam docti ab Jugurtha equites: vbi romano rū turina insequi coepserant: non confertim neq; in vnum se recipiebant: sed alius alio q; maxime diuersi. Ita numero priores si a persequendo hostes deterrere nequiescunt: disiectos a tergo aut alatibus circunuenientibant. Sin oportunior fusæ collis quam capi fuerat: Ea vero loca consueti numidarum equi facile iter virgulta euadere: Nostros asperitas et insolentia loci retinebat.

Cæterum facies toti<sup>+</sup> negotijs varia: incerta: sed atque miserabilis:



If whan Jugurth sawe that the rewarde of Metellus was passed his swarde: he be set the hyll from whiche Metellus dyscended with two thousande footemen by whiche garnyson if Metellus wold agayn take socour of the same hyll he shuld be prohibyted & dryuen bacwarde agayne into the handes of Jugurth. This done: sodenly he dyd the trupetes to be blowen and anone withall inuaded & set vpon the company of Metellus on euery syde. The Numidyens assayled and bete downe the romayns some on the rewarde and other some dyd their deuoyre to breke the array on both sydes: both on the ryght & lyft wyng withall their myght assaylyng the romayns and auaunsyng themselfe on euery syde to breke their array and ordynance. And after theyz power to trouble dystourbe and deuyde them. The romayns whiche were most stalle and holde of myndes in metyng their ennemis were abused & dysceyued with the vncertayne batayle. For their ordynance and array was set and strengthed onely but on one syde. But their ennemis assayled them on euery syde: so that sotyme they were stryken & wounded of their ennemis from farre of: but by no meanes coude they stryke their ennemis agayne nor toyne wth them. For Jugurth had taught his Numidiens on horsbakke before the batayle that whan they shal begynnto assayle the romayns: they shulde nat kepe themselves togyder nor nere: but almoche dyspersed as they coude: and in diuers places: one company here and and other there. And where the soudyours of Jugurth coude nat auoyed nor repell the romayns whiche assayled them by cause they were mo in nombre: therefore they compassed & trapsped them behynde or on the sydes betyn of: and dysioyned from their company. And where it fortuned any of them to fle the Numidians had moze auantage than the romayns. For where they fled into the feldes: they assayled the romayns on the backe halse or els on bothe sydes in dyuers compaynes. But where they sawe it was moze auayle and expediet to fle agayne to the hyll where they set first their ordynance. They had also auantage therby for their horses were accustomed to mountaynes and combred wayes: wherfore they mounted with lesse difficultie: but in contrary wylle the romayns for the sharpnes of the hilles and lacke of vse coude nat folowe them in their assedyng without moch difficulte/payne and paryll. But nat withstandyng that Jugurth and his men had the most auantage of the countrey and grounde: yet the batayle on both sydes was variable/vncertayne/vngoodly: and my-

serable to beholde: for the best men sonest were slayne and in  
moost iopardy. For the courage and valyant myndes & bo-  
de hertes of the romayns: was worth the gyle and treason of  
the Jugurthyns: and so on bothe sydes he which was boldest  
and moost auaured hymself was sonest ouerthrowen. Some  
which were deuyded from their owne company and in handis  
of their ennemis/gaue place to them and yelded themselves.  
And agayne some folowed and chased their ennemis fleyng:  
where they myght make their pty good: there resylded eyther  
partie manly. None of both parties kept vnder their stander  
des: noz folowed nat the order of batayle: noz kept none ordre  
noz array/but euery man resylded and defended hymself ther  
where moost iopardy and paryll was layed to hym: and en-  
deuoyzed hymselfe to withstande the byvolence of his ennemis  
with hys valyantise. And so the armout defensyfes/dartes/me-  
horse/Romayns/Numidians/soudyours/ and pages were  
all confounded and mengledde togyder: without orde or or-  
dynaunce obseruare. Nothyng was done with dyscretion of  
the soudyours noz with counsell of the captayns: bnausyed  
fortune and chaunce gouerned all the bysynesse of that day: so  
vnstable was the batayle. All was committed to rule of fortu-  
ne/ And thus passed forth moche of the day in great murder  
and slaughter / yet stilly was the ende of the batayle vncertas-  
yne and none knewe why the partye shulde haue the bycto-  
rye. At last bothe parties with labour and heat began to lans-  
guysshē and become wery. Metellus vnderstandinge that  
the Numidians lesse resylded myghtyng than they dyde bes-  
fore assembled and gathered togyder agayne his soudyours  
by lytell and lytell/ and without tary resylded the aray and set  
them agayne in order. And. iiii. cohories taken forth of the le-  
gyons he set agaynst the foremen of his ennemis. But before  
Metellus had thus assembled his company: a great parte of  
them oppressed with woundes and wrynes/ withdrew the  
selfe to the hyll before named and to the hyer places from the ba-  
tayle there to refreshe and rest themselves. But whan Metell-  
lus (as sayd is) had reasembled them agayne: he began to spe-  
ke wordes to pray and exhort them in suchē maner.

**O**worthy and trusty soudyours and companyons dys-  
courage nat your selfe in this batayle / noz lette nat your olde  
noblenesse no we fayle you: suffre nat your ennemis wont to  
put their trust in flyght/no we to ouercome you by your fer-  
full myndes. Remembre well: if ye be dysposed cowardly to flet  
ye haue no tentes/no cyties/no townes/no castells/noz no ma-  
net places of defēce: wherto ye may renne for refuge and sauve  
your selfe, your helth, your hope/ A defēce is ouely in your ar-

diuersi a suis pars redē

realis insequi: neq; signa  
neq; ordines obseruare:Vbi quemq; pericula ces-  
perat: bi resistere ac pro-  
pulsare.Arma/tela/equi/viri/hos-  
tes / atque ciues pmixti:  
nihil cōsilio aut imperio  
agi: sors omnia regere.Itaque multum diei pro-  
celeraticū etiam tū euen-  
tus in incerto erat.Denique omnib; labore  
et estu languidis/Metel-  
lus vbi videt Numidas  
minus instare: paulatim  
milites in vnum cōducit:  
ordines restituit: et co-  
hortes legionarias qua-  
tuor aduersus pedites ho-  
stium collocat.Eorum magna pars locis  
superioribus fessa conser-  
derat: simul orare: hostia-  
ri milites ne deficerent;Neu pateretur hostes su-  
gientes vincere?neque illis castra esse: ne  
que munimentum ullum  
quo cedentes tenderent:  
in armis omnia sita,

## The batayle

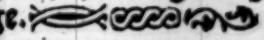
Sed nec Jugurtha quidē  
interea quietus erat: cū  
cūre/hortari/renouare/  
prelum: et ipse cum de-  
lectis oīa subuenire suis:  
hostibus instare dubijs:  
quos firmos cognouerat:  
eminus pugnando reti-  
nere.

Eo modo inter se duo im-  
peratores sūmi viri cer-  
tabant: ipsi pares: cōtes-  
rum opibus disparibus.

Nam Metello virtus mis-  
litū erat et locus aduer-  
sus. Jugurthæ alia oīa pe-  
ter milites opportuna.  
Deinde romani vbi intel-  
ligunt neque sibi profu-  
gium esse: neque ab hoste  
copiam pugnandi fieri:  
etiam diei vesper erat:  
aduerso collectiuti p̄-  
ceptum fuerat eadunt.

Amisso loco Numidæ fu-  
si fugarique pauci intes-  
riere. Plerisque velocis-  
tas / et regio hostibus ig-  
nara tutata sunt.

moure and strength: specially in your bolde herte. Wherfore  
dere frendes remembre your olde wōshyp: & suffre nat the hole  
empire of Rome to suffre dyswo shyp by your temorous and  
cowardly myndes. Remembre it worthyer to dy in batayle lyke  
men than to fle / & than to be taken & murdred lyke beestes / or  
to dye in prisōn. With these wordes & suchē lyke Metellus re-  
cōfōrded the hertes of his lōudpōurs. But in meane tyme Ju-  
gurth for his part was nat ydle/quiet nor lesse prouident: but  
compassed and went about his men cōfoztyng and exhortyng  
them also and praysing their dedes. He renued the batayle al-  
so for his part: and among the myddes of his elect lōudpōurs  
he fought and proued theretimite of every thyng: and assayd  
all meanes wherby any auantage myght be wonne cōfōrting  
and socouryng his men with wordes/dedes/and crāple. He  
boldely fought: and assayled suchē of the romayns as were in  
feare or dout: and suchē as he knewe & proued bolde and sted-  
fast he kept them of with arowes/tauelyns/and darteres that  
they coude nat approche to their felowes to auance them nor  
to be locoured of them. Thus two worthy men noble and exel-  
lent captayns fought & contended togyder bytwene themselves.  
They themselue lyke in strength/courage/wysdome/and pos-  
sycy: but of thynges longyng to chyualry vnylike of prouision.  
For Metellus had strength of lōudpōurs sufficently: but  
the auantage of the countrey and place was moche contrary  
to hym. But Jugurth had every thyng necessary and erpes-  
dyent/saue company of men of armes whiche he wanted.

C At last the romayns whan they vnderstode that there was  
no sure place wherto they myghte fle: and also that they coude  
fynde no meanes to fyght with their ennemites indifferently  
hande to hande. And that the nyght was come vpon them: at  
last they ascended vpon the toppe of an hyll whiche was ouer  
agaynst them lyke as Metellus their captayne commaunded  
them to do. For the Numidians had lost that place and were  
fledde and spreddē a brode dyspersed / but fewe of them were  
slayne. For they were swyftē: and the contrey was nat well  
knownen to the Romayns to pursue them: wherby many of  
the Numidians were defended: and so by flyght escapedde.  
But Jugurth with his horsemen of garde for his body: fleddi  
also from the batell whan he had longe foughтен and sawe no  
ne auayle nor auantage. 

**C**how Bomylchar vndercaptayne of Jugurth  
and his company were dysconfited by Ruti-  
lyus vndercaptayne of Metellus.

**C**The xxiiii. chapyter.

Ms. B. 2. 1. fol. 100v

**D**¶ the mean season Bomylchar / whō Jugurth had made maister of his elphantes/ and of a part of the fotemen (as I haue written before) assone as he sawe that Rutilius (which Metellus had sent unto the flosde of Muthull to prouide a place for their tentes) was ouerpased his company: by lytell & lytell he conuayed and ledde downe his company into a playne. And whyle this Rutilius hasted hym towarde the flosde as he was comauanded of Metellus. Bos milchar set his company in order & array styll & quietly as the mater and case required. And in meane tyme he forga nat to serche by espies what Metellus dyd / and what way Rutilius toke towarde the sayd flosde: and in what maner he behaued hymselfe & gyded his army. Wherfore after he vnderstode by his espies that Rutilius with his company had taken their pla ce by the sayd flosde where he wold abyde: and was boyde of besynes / quyet / and doutyng no party. And on the other syde whan he vnderstode that the cry of the batayle bytwene Jugurth & Metellus encreased: he fearest lest Rutilius (if he vnderstode therof) wolde leue his place by the flosde: and retourtne to the batayle to socour his felowes which were in los party. In this consideration Bomylchar: where as before he had ordered his army nece togyder by craft and that bycause he mystrusted the courage of his men: and in their boldnesse had no great confidence. Therfore nowe agayne he deuyded them a brode moche larger than they were before: and so pro scede towarde the tentes of Rutilius / to thintent to lette hym and his company on euery syde / if they prepared towardes their coues of Metellus. Rutilius and his company suspectyng no perill sodarnite of vnware aduyled great vholence of smoke and duste styrred vp and rayled by mouyng of the grounde: but what it myght be they coude nat perceue by any mes ane because of the thicknesse of the yonge trees that grewe on all the grounde byt were them whiche letted their syght. First of all they thought it had proceded of dixnes of the ground by mouyng of the wynde. But afterwarde whan they sawe the same smoke and dust contynue styll after one maner: and that the same app roched alway never and never lykewyse as the company of their ennemis moued and drewe toward them. Then they parceyued and knewe the mater as it was: and in al hast euery man toke to hym his harnesse: and stode redy before the defence of their tētes as their captayne Rutilius had ordred and comauanded them euery man redy at defēce and in array. After whan their ennemis app roched never with an horryble noyse and cry / they rānne togyder on bothe parties.

¶ Neere a bomylchar que  
elphantis et parti co  
piarū pedestrīum pre se  
etim a Jugurtha supra di  
ximus: vbi eum Rutilius  
pretergressus est: paulas  
tim suos in equum locum  
deducit: ac dum legatus  
ad humen quo premissus  
erat, festinas pergit: quis  
et, yti res postulabat) ac  
cīem instruxit: neque re  
mittit explorare: quid v  
bique hostis ageret.

Postquam Rutilium cons  
feditie iam, et aio vacuu  
elle accepit: simulque Iu  
gurtha ex prelio clamor  
rem augeri: veritus ne le  
gatus cognita re labora  
tibus suis auxilio foret  
aciein, quamdiuidens vici  
tutum militum aucte statu  
erat, quo hostium itineri  
officeret, latius portrigit:

Eoque modo ad Rutilii  
castra procedit. Romani  
ex iprouiso pulueris vim  
magnum aduertunt.  
Nam prospectu ager ar  
bustis cōsīt\* prohibebat.

Et primo humū rati sunt  
aridam vento agitari.  
Post vbi æquabilem ma  
nere: scuti acies moueba  
tur: magis magisque ap  
propinquate videbant: co  
gnita re properantes ar  
ma capiūt: ac pro castris  
sicuti imperatur consi  
stunt.

Deinde vbi proprius ven  
tum est utrimque magno  
clamore concurritur,

## The batayle

Namidē tantūmodo sūt  
remorati dū in eliphanc-  
tis auxiliū putāt: post-  
q̄ eos impedītos ramis  
arborum atque ita disie-  
ctos circūueniri vident:  
fugam faciunt: ac pleris-  
que abiectis armis collis-  
aut noctis quæ iam ade-  
rat auxilio integri abeunt.  
elephantī quatuor capti:  
reliqui oēs numero qua-  
draginta intersecti sunt.

At romani q̄ q̄ itinere at-  
que opere castorū et pre-  
lio feliſi laſique erant: tñ  
q̄ Metellus amplius opis-  
mone morabatur instruc-  
ti / intentique obuiam  
procedunt.

Nam dolus Numidarum  
nihil languidi neque re-  
missi patiebatur.

Ac primo obscura nocte  
postq̄ haud procul inter-  
se erant strepitū velut ho-  
stes aduentare: alteri a-  
pud alteros formidinem  
simul et tumulum face-  
re: et pene imprudentia  
admissum facinus miser-  
abile foret: ni vt timque  
præmissi equites rem ex-  
plorauissent.

Igitur pro metu repente  
gaudium exhortum est.

Milites alius alium lēti  
appellant: acta edocent:  
atque audiunt: sua quiss-  
que fortia facta ad celum  
effert.

Quippe humane res ita  
se habent: in victoria eti-  
am ignavis gloriari lis-  
cer: aduersa res etiam de-  
tractant bonos.

The Numidens dyd but onely cōtyne the skirmyshe aby-  
dyng & lokynge after their elyphates in helpe of whome was  
all their trust. But whan they sawe that their elyphates were  
stopped & lette with thyckenesse of the bowes of the treis: and  
so taryed & kept from their socours by the cōpassyng of the ro-  
mayns so that in them was no trust of socours. Than all they  
toke them to flyght with all their power. But many of the (les-  
uyng their armour behynde them) escaped without wounde  
by helpe of the hylles whych were about the place: which they  
coude better & quicklyer ascende than the romayns. And also  
by socour of the darknesse of the nyght (which than was at  
hande) many of them escaped hole & sounde and sauied them-  
selfe. Foure of the elyphantes were taken and all the remenāt  
(fourty in nombre) were slayne. Whan this was done: the com-  
pany of Rutilius nat withstandyng that they were fatigate  
and weryed with great tourneis before / and also with moche  
labour in orderyng of their tentes: & with the sayd batayle or  
skirmyshe: nevertheles whan they sawe that Metellus their  
chefe captayne taryed longer than they thought he wold haue  
done yf all thyng had happened well with hym / they ordred  
themselfe ready & diligenter went backwarde agayne to mete  
hym. For the falshode and gyle of Jugurth and of the Numi-  
dens caused them to be besy/diligēt / and circumspect in eues  
ty thyng for saueguard of their lyues / & suffred them to do no  
thyng slouly nor with delayeng. But whan they were in their  
tourney in the darknesse of the nyght the compaines on both  
parties were nat fare in sondze the one from the other: and  
bothe parties approched togyder nat knowyng eche other as  
if they had ben enemis. The one agaynst the other making  
noyse and clamour eche one increasyng fear to other as war-  
ryous at wont to do at begynnyng of a batayle. Insomuch  
that a miserable dysstruction & murdere had almost ben comit-  
ted bytwene them by their imprudēt negligence / if the espyes  
and horſmen whiche were sent bytwene them on bothe sydes  
had nat with moze diligēce & wyleylyer espied the treuch of the  
mater. But whan the parties knewe eche other / their sadnes  
and feare tourned to great toyse & gladnesse. The soudyours  
toyfully anone met togyder one salutyng & welcomyng other.  
One shewed to other their actes done on bothe parties: and  
toyous they were to here on bothe sydes every man commen-  
dyng & exalting their owne dedes / and also the dedes of other  
vnto heuen with myrthe & gladnesse. And that as well such as  
were worthy men as unworthy cowardys as crybed to them-  
selfe worthynesse. And certes in such busynesse it often happe-  
neth that on that syde whiche hath the victorie: such as be but  
cowardes /

cowardes / rude and vncrafty / exalteth them / entopeth / and may bost hemselfe on other mennes dedes and worshynesse. But in contrarywysse on that partie which is ouercom though many be good warriours/noble & worthy men : yet as they reputed for coward / without policy/bycause of other mennes cowardyse & aduersyte of fortune. Thus fareth it in skirmyses of batayle. But whan Metellus & Rutilius (as I haue sayd before) were mette togyder and rehersed their actes one to other Metellus hasted hym withall his army to the floden of Muthulli / and tarped in the places & tentes whiche Rutilius had prepared & setouened there the space of foure dayes. In this season he was besy in refreschynge & healing his souydours whiche were wounded / suche as manly had behaued themselves in the batayle he woxthelp rewarded them / he called them togyder all into one company and greatly lauded & commended them: thankyng & moch praysyng them for the great diligēce/payne/and labo's: whiche they had taken in defensē of the honoure & dignite of their empere with suchē wordes.

**C**O worthy loundours ye se nowe that the hardest of our labour is ouerpased by your boldnesse and manhode: wherfor I exhort you: be ye of lyke courage in the resydue of our blynesse / whiche shalbe but lyght & easie in comparyson of this which is ouerpased. The begynnyng and first brunt of euerie blynesse is hardest. Whiche shall be but lyght vnto boldes and circūspect begynners & constant folowres of their enterpryses. But this begynnyng ye haue manly ouercome by constant labour as thynge moost easyl. ynough haue we foughten all ready for the glorie of victorē: for that haue we optayned in this first costlyc. If we labour or fight any more it shalbe but onely for prayes and robberies of our ennemites: wherby we shalbe encryched in substance: lyke as we nowe be inhaunced with glorie of victorē. Wherfore my dere felowes & most constant friendes of the comen welth nowe I exhort you for cōflement of all your honorabile fame: to remēber your olde & acuistomed worshynesse. And suffre nat this excellent honoure & glorie which ye haue nowe optayned by boldnes: to be quenched and decay agayne by ignomynous cowardyse.

**C**Withsuche wordes & many other lyke Metellus reconforted his company: & maruelously kyndled their courage to the desyre of honour by balyant feates of armes. But in þ meane season the knowen gyle of Jugurth went nat from his mynd: and therfore to exclude all danger of treason he sent forth certayne of the Numidens / whiche betraynge Jugurth had forsaken hym & fled to the romayns: & also with þe he sent forthe dyuerse other of his owne company whiche were expert of the Jugurth.

D.4.

Metellus in iisidē castris  
quarriduo moratus: fau-  
cios cum cura reficit: me-  
ritos in prelijs more mi-  
litiae donat: vniuersos in  
contione laudat: atque a-  
git gratias

hortatur ad extera qua-  
leua sunt / patrem animū  
gerant:

Pro victoria satis iā pu-  
gnatum: reliquos labo-  
res præde fore.

Tum interim trāstugans  
et alios oportunos: vbi  
Jugurtha gentium: aut  
quid ageret: cum pauci-  
ne esset: an exercitum ha-  
beret: vt se se vicius gerer-  
et: exploratum misit.

## The batayle

At ille se se in loca saltuosa et munica natura reccperat: ibique cogebat exercitum numero hominum ampliorem: sed heterem iurumque: agri ac pecoris magis q̄ bellum cultorem.

Id ea gratia eueniebat: & præter regios equites nemo omnium Numidarum ex fuga regem sequebat. Quo cuiusq; animus fert eo descendunt: neque id flagitium militia ducit: ita se mores habent.

**I**gitur Metellus ubi videt regis etiam tum animum fetocem esse belum renouari: quod nisi ex illius libidine geri non posset:

**P**raterea iniquum certamen sibi cū hostibus: minore detimento illos vici q̄ vincere: statuit non prælijs neque in acie sed alio modo belum esse getendum.

country and oportune to suche besynesse to serche and espye among what people or in what place Jugurth held hymselfe: and wherin he was occupied. Wherther he kept hym w̄ a small company: or whyther he had an army reassembled for a newe batayle: and how he behaued hymselfe & where about he went syth he was ouercome. But Jugurth had conuayed hymselfe into such places as were full of dychesse/valles/hilles/treis/bushes/& dales defended of nature. And there had he assembled agayne a newe army of men mo in nobre than he had before. But they were but vncraftie/inexpert/and dull to batell: and coude better tyll the grounde and kepe beestes than exercyse the dedes of chivalry. For thereto had they never ben vsed before: but in the other setycle ocupacions & besynesse had they ben occupied all their lyfytyme without intermition of other ocupacion. It fortuned that Jugurth had none other soudyours but suche curall people about hym at this tyme namely for this cause. For whan he fled from the batayle foughten before with Metellus/none of all his soudyours folowed hym/ except the horsmen of his garde. For all the other soudyours departed where it lyked them best. Nor this is nat contred nor reputed for any faute or rebuke among the Numidens soudyours. For suche is the custome of the countrey: whan the capitayne fleeth the hōost forlaketh hym.

**C**what wast and dysstruction Metellus made in the lande of Numidy after this first batayle and flyght of Jugurth: and of the gyle of Jugurth agaynst Metellus.

**C**Chapter. xxxiiii.

**M**ā Metellus vnderstode by his espyes that the mynde of Jugurth continued yet styll in his olde fyernesse & crueltie though he was largely ouercome in batayle. And whan Metellus sawe that Jugurth renewed the warre agayne and prepared a newe batayle whiche coude nat be done but at pleasure of Jugurth: bycause he had taken suche a place to abyde in that no man coude conveniently contende with hym for difficultie therof. Metellus thus knowyng aduised hymselfe of many thynges. Namely he consydred that they were nat in different & egall on bothe parties in executyng therof. For all ys that he had the upper hand ouer Jugurth & had put hym to flyght: yet lost he mo men and had more damage in ouercomyng hym / than Jugurth had whiche was ouercome. For this consyderacion Metellus purposed no more to contende with hym in playne feldes nor in ordered batayle / but by an

## of Jugurth.

other maner to execute the warre with hym from thensborthe. This determined: Metellus with his hole hoost and ordynance went forth into the moost ryche and plentyfull places of all Numidie/and there wasted and dystroyed the feldes & countrey on euery syde. He toke without any resystance castels and townes/nat strongly defended with walles/dychesse/noz garnyson. And brent and bete them downe to the grounde. Ill such as came in his way and were able to bere harnessse: full growen of age or apt to batayle: he slewe and tyd our of hande. Thynkyng that the mo he slewe the fewer aduersaries and ennemis shulde he haue to contende agaynst hym. He comauanded his lousyo's to spare no robbery nor prayses: but gaue althypg to haucke among his lousyours.

**C**oxe of this cructie many of the Numidens yelde themselves to the romayns: and gaue vnto them hostages/vytailys/sodours/and all other thynges necessary abundantly. In some townes whiche were taken: Metellus sette dffence and garnyson where nede required and fortifid them sufficiencly. This belpnesse troubled the mynd of Jugurth moche more than the batayle that was foughthen before to his great damage and disconfort of his men. Cox he lost moze people by this way than by any other meane before. Thus Jugurth whiche before put all his hope and trust in his flight: was nowe of necessite compelled to folowe and pursue his ennemis: and he whiche coude nat defende his owne places whiche the syll remayned in his possession: was constrained nowe to warre in those coostes which Metellus had wonne of hym to recouer them yf fortune wold suffice hym. Nevertheles of such poore shyt and counsell as he had he toke the best which coude be taken by his aduyse in such extreme necessite. He comauanded his army for the most part to remayne stell in the same place where they were. And he hymselfe with a company of horsemen whiche were bolde and chosen men ensued Metellus priuely/makynge his roundes by nyght tyme by/bp wayes and secrete vales. And at last sodeny of vnwars he fell upon a part of the romayns whiche were dispersed a brode from the hoost in foragynge and spoylinge. Many of them without armoure were slayne / & many taken. None of them all escaped cleane nor fre without damage / but outher were slayne oreis soze wounded. Whan Jugurth had done this shypmis the anone he withdrawe hymselfe and his company into the hylles and mountaynes next to them: before any socours or rescous myght come from Metellus to renenge their treason & death of the romayns.

Jugurth.

D. L.

Itaque in loca Numidia opulentissima pergit: a gros vastar: castella multa et oppida temere mutata aut sine presidio caput: incenditque.

Puberes interficit: iubet dia militumq; dexter

Ea formidine multi mortales romanis dedit: ob sides frumentum/ta alia que vsu torret: assatim prebita sunt: vbi cūq; res postulabat, presidiū impositū. Quē negotiā multo māgis q; paxū male pugnat ab suis, regem terrebant.

Quippe cui spes oīs s' fuga sita erat: sequit cogere batitter qui sua loca defendere nequuerat: in a lienis Leillum gererent: men ex inopia quod optinū videbatur consilium capit: exercitum plerumque in iisdem locis opiri iubet.

Ipsa cum delectis equitis bus Metellum sequitur nocturnis auijsque itis netibus ignoratus romanos palantes repente age gratiatur. Plerique inermes cadunt: multi capiuntur. Nemo opinū ista bus profugit. Numide priusq; subiectetur (si cuti in si erant) in proximis colles discedunt.

## The batayle

¶ Of the great ioy which was demeaned at Ro  
me for this worthy behauour of Metellus: and  
howe he gyded hymselfe and his army to conty-  
nue and augment this honour which he had go-  
ken. ¶ The xxviii.chapyter.

¶ Neeris Rome gaudiū  
ingens ortum est cogni-  
tis Metelli rebus ut se  
exercitumque more ma-  
tiorum gereret.

qj inaduerso locati vi-  
ctor fuisse virtute hostiū  
agro potiretur.

Jugurtham magnificum  
ex Auli secordia y spem  
salutis insolitudine aut  
suga coegerit habere.

Itaque senatus ob ea se-  
liciter acta dijs immorta-  
libus suppicia decernere.  
Ciuitas itea trepida  
et sollicita de belli eu-  
en-  
eu lēta agere.

Fama de Metello preela-  
ra esse. Igitur eo intentis-  
or Metellus ad victoriā  
niti omnibus modis: fer-  
stinate: cauere: nō necubi-  
hosti oportunus fieret.

Meminisse post gloriam  
insidiam sequi: ita quo  
clarior eo magis anxius  
erat: neque post insidias  
Jugurtha effuso exerci-  
tu prædar.

**W**hyde Metellus and Jugurth stry-  
ued thus togyder: the one with manhode/  
wysdome & strength: the other with crea-  
son/craft & gyle: Cidynge were brought  
to Rome of this noble behauour of Metel-  
lus. Ouer all the cite was demeaned great  
ioye & gladnes for that Metellus behaued  
hymselfe & gyded his army accordyng to y maner & ordinaunce  
of olde noble capitayns of the comayns before his dayes. And  
howbeit he was in place aduerts & contray to hym yet had he  
the upper hande of his ennemis as victorie ouer them. And  
by his strength & manhode he had in possession the countrey of  
his ennemis: & had driven them from place to place. All these  
thyngs colydred: they moch rejoiced & greatly comended Me-  
tellus: namely for that he had caused Jugurth to put his trust  
of helth onely in fleyng into the motipayns & wyldernesse/whi  
the before was magnificente & proude by the seat & cowardysse  
of Julius predecessor of Metellus. Wherfore for these forus-  
nat & glorioous dedes of Metellus/ the senatours decreed and  
comauded ouer all the cite sacrifices & suffrages to be done to  
their ydolles. The citeyzns whiche before were frefull & soore  
troubled boutyng the vnseure chaunce & incertayne forture of the  
ende of this warre: demeaned nowe amonge them mythe and  
gladnesse ouerall. The honoure & fame of Metellus was re-  
couert very noble/excellēt & glorioous in euery mannes mou-  
the. Wherfore he somoche was the more dyligent and labou-  
red more besyly towarde the vyctore laboringe & hastynge to  
finyshe the warre by all meanes & wayes so it might be to his  
honour & cōfuslion of Jugurth. But nevertheles he was well  
ware from puttynge hymselfe in danger of his ennemis: and  
was ware exchuyng oportunitie of their gyle in euery place  
where he went. He rembred well & colydred that often after  
laude & glorie foloweth enuy & euylyll. And therfore howe  
muche more noble that he was reputed: the more besy & dylig-  
gent he was to mentayne his fame & honour / & in dylde to lose  
this worthy fame which he had optayned. Nor after the for-  
sayd gyle of Jugurth he suffred nat his hostis to deuide nor to  
departe themselves dyspersed one from other: nor to make ex-

courses to forage or spoyle in diuers places far distant in sondre. But whan they had nede outher of mannes meat or ho:semate: all the ho:semen with great cōpanyes of the fo:men/ went forthe & kept them nere about suche as were sende forth to make prouision to defende and locout them: it nedē shulde requyze. Metellus hymselfe deuyded his hoost in two partes: the one part he kept with hymselfe: & the other he com mytted to a noble warrior of his hoost named Marius: by twene them both they dystroyd & wasted the contrey on eucry syde/but rather with fire than w: cobbyz or prayes. Metellus & Marius set their tentes in two places nat far distāt in sondre. But whan any perylous or nedē besynesse was to be done w: Jugurth or his cōpany whiche requyzed great myght: than anone Metellus & Marius were redy to gyder: but they kept themselves thus in sonder in dyuersc places to trouble the Numidies/ and increase their feare more largely in euery co: st: & to make them fle and auoyde for abrode in compasse for: fat. ¶ At this season Jugurth ensued by the hylls and desert pla:ces lekyng and espyeng a conuenient season or place to make someskyrmyshe with the romayns (that is to say) if he coude espy any parcell of them lekyng forth fountayns of water for the armē of the which was moch penury in thalst costes. If he myght any such espy than anone wold he breke downe frō the hylls vpon them. Somtyme he shewed hymselfe to Metellus/somtyme to Marius/ somtyme he wold assemble his cōpany to gyder in a bend as if he wold fyght with the romaining to atēpt them/ & anone aft wold he retourne agayne vnto the mountaynes. And afterwarde soodenly apperte agayne ther: nyng nowe the one cōpany of the romayns/ & nowe the other. yet wold he neyther auetur batayle nor suffre neyther the romayns to be ydle or in rest/no: yet hymselfe. His mynde was onely sette to kepe his ennemis from their begynnyng & purpose of distroying of the countrey whiche they intended.

**C**howe Metellus besyeged Samiam one of the strongest townes of Numidie: and howe Marius vnder captayne of Metellus escaped the danger of Jugurth. ¶ The. xxxv. chapter.

**W**han Metellus sawe hym selfe so we: tyed with the gyles and craftes of Jugurth and that by no policy he coude haue faculty or tyme to fight with hym in playne batayle: at last he cocluded to besyge & assaile a great towne na:med ziamam/ whiche was the most chefe & strongest holde of Jugurth.

N. lli.

Sed vbi frumento aut pa: bulo opus erat: cohortes cum omni equitatu p: fidū a geabant. Exercitus partē ipse: res liquos Marius ducebat: sed igne magis q̄ prāda a ger vastabatur.

Duobus locis haud longe iter se castra faciebat. Vbi vi opus erat: cuncti aderant: ceterū quo ius ga atque formido latius crederet: diuisi agebant.

Eo tempore Jugurtha per colles sequi: r̄ps aut locum pugnare querere: qua venturum hostem audierat/pabulum aut aquarā fontes (quorum penuria erat) corrumpere. modo se Metello: iterū Mario ostendere: postremo in agmine tērare: ac statim in colles regredi.

Rufus alijs post alijs minari: neque premū facere: neque oculū pati. tantummodo hostem ab incepto retinere.

**R**omanus operator vbi se dolis fatigari videt: neque ab hoste copiam pugnandi fieri: urbem magnam et ea parte qua sita erat ar-

## The batayle

tem regni nomine Zamā  
statuit oppugnare: ratus  
(id quod negotium postu-  
labat) Iugurtham labo-  
rantib⁹ suis auxilio ven-  
zurū ibi que preliū fore.  
At ille / que parabantur  
edictus a perfugis, mag-  
nis itineribus Metellum  
anteuenit:

oppidanos horratus/mœ-  
ma defendāt: addit⁹ au-  
xilio perfugis / quod gen-  
nus ex copi⁹ regis (quia  
fallere nequib⁹) fortis-  
simū erat.  
Præterea policeretur in tē-  
pore semet cum exercitu  
affore.

*Ita cōpositis rebus in loc-  
a q̄ maxime occulta de-  
scendit: ac post paulo co-  
gnoscit ex itinere Mari-  
um frumentatum cū pauci-  
eis cohortibus Siccā mis-  
ſū / quod oppidum primū  
omnium post malam pu-  
gnam ab rege defecerat.  
Eo cum delectis equitib⁹  
pergit noctu: et egredien-  
tibus Romanis in porta  
pugnam facit. Simul ma-  
gna voce Siccenses hor-  
ratur / vii cohortes a ter-  
go circumueniant: fortu-  
nam illis præclarati faci-  
noris casū dare: si id fecer-  
int: postea se se in regno:  
illos in libertate sine me-  
tu ætate acturos.*

At n̄ Marius signa inser-  
re atque euadere oppido  
properauisset: profecto  
cuncti (aut magna pars)  
Siccenium fidem muta-  
vissent. Tanta mobilita-  
te se se Numide gerunt.

all the realme of Numidie in that part of the lande where it  
was buylded. And so sped hym thyder withall his army and  
ordinance where the sayd holde was (thyndyng as the mater  
requyred) that Iugurth wolde drawe thyder for defence of  
his chise towne and for socour and relefe of his people and so  
shulde the batayle be there foughten bytwene them. But whā  
Metellus was in his tourney thyderwarde / anone were cer-  
tain of his army which fled to Iugurth and certifid hym of  
this prouision and interprise of Metellus. Whan Iugurth  
herof was certifid he hasted hym by greet tournels so that he  
ouerpasseſ the company of Metellus and came to the towne of  
Zamam before hym: & there exhorted the inhabitants boldly  
to defende the walles. And farthermore assignd to socour &  
helpe them all suche as had fled from the romayns / and had  
brought hym thosse tidyngs. These treaours were the sureſt  
men whiche Iugurth had. For they coude nat dysceþue hym/  
but if they wolde yelde them agayne to the romayns whome  
they had forsaken and betrayed whch thyng was nat ſure to  
them to do. Whan Iugurth had ioyned theſe ſoudours to  
the garnison and ſocours of the towne and caſtell and had or-  
dred & apoynted all other thynges acordyng to his mynde  
than he promyſed to be there agayne with them with all his  
hole army in tyme of nedē. This done he departed from the  
towne into the moſt prouy & ſecret places which he knewe in  
his countrey therby. But whan Metellus was in his tourney  
towarde Zamam he ſende Marius for prouision of wheate and  
other coze & biayle for the army vnto a towne named Sicc-  
a / whiche was the firſt towne that forſoke Iugurth & was  
yelded to Marius after the batayle late foughten with Ju-  
gurth to his great damage. Whan Iugurth had knowledge  
herof he went thyder by nyght priuely with his elect ſoudoy's  
ſo that whan Marius had ſped his maters & was redy to de-  
parte forth of the towne: Iugurth was redy at the gates to  
assayle the romayns cruelly cryeng with a hye voyce to them  
of the towne & exhortyng them to assayle the romayns also  
on the backe halfe: ſayng that fortune had offred to them the  
chaunce of a noble act / of an excellent & glorioſus dede: ſo that  
(yf they wolde folowe his desyze) they shulde reſtore hym  
agayne into his kyngdome & themſelue into their libertie and  
from thensforth paſſe their tyme without peryll / without dan-  
ger or dredē. And certaynely if Marius had nat boldely and  
ſtrongly broken out of the towne with his ſtanderdes & men  
of armes through the thickest of his ennemis whiche were  
in the gates. All they of the towne or the moſt part wolde haue  
broken theyz oth and promesse / whiche they had made before

to Metellus whan they first yelded themselves and the cite to hym. The myndes of the Numidiens be so hasted fast and mouable. But Jugurth so conforzed his soudyours that they resynted the romayns a lytell season. But whā Marius and his company began to increase their violence agaynst the Jugurthyns and more fiercely to preale upon them. Inone some were slayne and the resydue fled with their maister Jugurth. This daunger ouerpassest: Marius deparred thens towarde the towne of Zaman: and at the last came thyder safē with all his cōpany and besynesse sped wherfore he was leue.

This Samam was a towne bylded in the playne grousde without hylles or waters necē it defended rather by h̄ warke of mannes hande than by nature of the place. In it fayled nothyng necessary to batayle. For it was well garnisshed both with men / ordynaunce / vitayls / and armour. Inone whan Marius was come: Metellus acordyngē to the tyme and place made redy all thynges necessary and compassed the walles on euery syde w̄ his army: assignyngē to ebery one of his vndercapitayns a separate place of the towne to assayle and there to do his deuoyre and shewe his manhode. Whan euery thyngē was thus ordred Metellus commānded to sounde to the assaut with trumpettes and clakyons. The romayns immediatly assayled the towne on euery syde w̄ horſeble noyse & clamoure. The Numidiens therof were nat a dred at all: but abode stille and kept themselves insylence as if they had nat ben displeased nor prouoked to batayle: howe best they kept the walles euery man on the part to hym assygned & all were redy to resyst & to assayle the romayns. Inone the batayle was begone. The romayns exercysed and occupyd themselves euery man w̄ suche weppyn as he coude best han dell and was most expert in: some with flynges thrie plumm̄ettes of leed / and some stones from a farre into the cyte / and at them whiche defended the walles / some assyaled the towne never inuadyng the same / and couertyng to haue entre and b̄dermyning the walles / some boldly escaled walles desirynge to come so neare that they myght fyght hande to hande. On the other syde thinhabitauntes of the towne and garayson resynted manly. Some rowled downe and ouertourned great & weyghry stones on suche as were neare to them / and that b̄dermyned the walles. Some pytched downe vpon them dotes / tauelynys / pykes / firebandes: and also great brennyng polles / faggottes / and blockys ouercouered with pytche and b̄estone ardenly flamyng. Some boldly ouertourned the scaling ladders and slewe & ouerthrie suche as scaled the walles:

Sed milites Jugurthini / paulisper a rege sustenta-  
ti/postq̄ maiore vi hostes  
vrgēt paucis amissis pro-  
fugi discedunt.

Marius ad Zamam p-  
uenit.

*I*d oppidum in campo sis-  
tum / magis opere q̄ natura  
ra munitionem erat in nullius  
rei idonea: egena: armis  
virisque opulentum.

Igitur Metellus pro tem-  
pore atque loco paratis  
rebuscunda menia exer-  
citū circūuenit. Legatis  
imperat vbi quisque ca-  
raret.

Denique signo dato / vn-  
diqui simul clamor ingens  
oritur: neque ea res Nu-  
midas terret: infensi / ins-  
tentiq̄ sine tumultu ma-  
nent: prælūm incipit.

Romani pro iugendo quis-  
que: pars eminus glande-  
ant / sapidibus pugnare:  
alii inuadere: ac mutuni  
suffodere: modo scalis ag-  
redi: cupere pīaliū ma-  
nibus facere.

Cōtra ea oppidani in pro-  
ximos faxa volueret: su-  
des / pīla / prætere a pīce et  
sulphure tedam mixtam  
ardenti mittere.

## The batayle

Sed nec illos qui procul  
manserant timor animi  
satis munierat. Nā ple-  
rosque iacula tormentis  
aut manibus emissa vul-  
nerabant. Parique peri-  
culo sed fama impari: bo-  
ni argue ignauerant.

But some other whiche were farther from the towne and for  
prease coude nat approche nere to the walles in the meane sea-  
son were nother fearfull nor ydell. For there was no maner  
instrument of batayle whiche coude be throwen with hande  
or with any other ingyne of batayle: but that they threwe it into  
the towne / wherwith they wounded and slew many of the  
inhabitantes and of the defenders of the walles. The darpes  
and corsbowes on bothe parties were nat vnoccupyd. Ittel-  
lyng nor gonne had they none. For at that tyme was no  
mencion of them nor they were nat yet inuent. The romains  
whiche were farthest of all from the walles escaped nat free: but  
with darpes were ouerthrowen in great nombre. Howebeit  
their cowardous and fearfull myndes caused them to drawe  
themselfe a louke behynde all other for to sauue themselfe / yet  
coude they nat auoyde the paryll. Thus were the wretched and  
vnworthy of the romayns in lyke scopardy and paryll: but  
their glory and fame was moche vnlyke.

Cho we Jugurth assayled and inuaded the ten-  
tes of the romayns in the meantyme whyle Metellus  
gave assaut to the towne of zammam.

C The xxxvi.chapyter.

**D**Vm apud zammam  
sic certatur: lugur-  
tha ex improviso ca-  
stra hostium cum magna  
manu inuadit (remissi-  
qui in praesidio erant) et  
omnia magisq; prelum  
expectantibus portam ir-  
tumpit.

At nostri repentina mo-  
tu percussi: sibi quisque  
pro mortibus consulunt:  
ali; fugere: ali; armis cas-  
pere: magna pars vulnera-  
tati aut occisi sunt.

Ceterum ex omni multi-  
tudine non amplius qua-  
draginta memores nomi-  
nis romani: grege facto:  
locum cōpere paulo q; a-  
li; editorem: neque inde



Whyle the assaut contynued thus at  
zammam with great murde & destruction  
on both ptes: Jugurth so denly and of vn-  
ware stale downe from the mountaynes  
where he was hyd / and with a great power  
of men assayled & inuaded the romayns ten-  
tes whyle the loundyouts whiche Metellus  
had assygned to the warde & defence of them were within the  
same at their rest: and suspecting nothing lesse than any suche  
assaut. Wherfore Jugurth brake in vpon them unþouyded.  
The romayns were soze abashed of that sudden feare. And  
every man prouided for hymselfe / acordyng to his maners  
and displosyon. Some whiche were cowarde fled withall  
their myght / some other valiant and holde herded men drewe  
to their bernes and manly withstode their ennemis. Neuer,  
thelesse the moost parte of them all were / either wounded or  
slayne. But among all the company and of all the multitude  
of them were no moze but. xl. men whiche abode. These. lr.  
accompayed themselfe togyder remembryng the worshyp of  
the empire of Rome / and toke a place a lytell abue their en-  
nemis: whiche place they defended so manly that they coude

nat be driven from it by moche violence of their ennemis; agaynst whome they thvne darget from a far. And suche dargetes as their enemies thvne at them: they thvne þ same agayn. So they begynge but a fewe agaynst so many dyd nothyng in hayne. For they coude thowre no dart/but that it lyghted a s̄mong the thyckest of them. But so coude nat their ennemis do agaynst them. For they were so fewe: so nere togidre: & on so sure a place that their enimies myghe lytell thyng preuayle agaynst them. But whan the Numidies approuched nerer to them: than specially these. i.e. valiant comayns shewed and bestowed thier manhode & strength w̄ most excellent courage assayling their enimies: ouerthowwyng & chasyng them backwarde by very force & streghth. ¶ In the meane tyme whyle Metellus was most of all occupied and besyd in the so sayd assaut of zamac: sodenly he herde behynde hym a great clāmouȝt & noyse of people. Inone he refcapined his hōſe: and in tournyng backe perceyued great cōpanyes of men rēmyng to warde hym: wherby he well knewe that they were of his owne people & cōpany. But whā he vnderstode all the chauce which was be fallen. Inone in all hast he sent all the hole company of his hōſmen bnto his tentes: & loone after he sent thysder also his chise vndercaptayne Catus Marius with his cōpanyue & company to hym assignd. And soze wepyng he obteſſed ethorzed/and besought hym for all loue & friendshyp: and for honour of þ cōmen wayle/that he wolde nat suffre any disworshyp or eſtremely remayne in the comayns that day while the euerthytherio had ben victoriouſ and overcomers with greate laude and honour: and that he wolde nat suffre their enemy Jugurth and his cōpany to depart away vnceuenged. Marius dyd the cōmaundement of Metellus and that shoxth. But in the meane season Jugurth perceyued many of the keſpers of the tentes fallen into the dyches that were made about the same for defence: so that for hast to come away they hutt themſelue more than he dyde. Jugurth aduyſing their daunſter colydred that hymſelfe was lykely to be let vnder the ſame maner yf he auentured ouer ſatte. And therfore he departed betyme into the ſureſt places that he coude deuyle ſere by leaupnge many of his men behyndz outher deed or mortally wounded. Thus was Marius fruſtrat of his labour: for Ju-  
gurth was fled before he came to the tentes. But Metellus (without any thyng brought to ende at zamac) whā the nyght dre we were: retourned with his hoſt into his tentes. On the next morne after/before he retourned agayne to the assaut of zamac: he cōmaunded all the cōpany of his hoſmen to course vp and downe before their tentes on that syde wher they ſup-

maxima vi depelli quinque  
runt:  
Sed tela eminus missa re  
mittere: pauci in pluribꝫ .....  
frustrari.

Sin Numidæ propius ac  
cessilens: bi. vero virtus  
tem ostenderet: et eos ma-  
xima vi cedere: fundere:  
atque fugare.  
Interim Metellus cum a-  
cetrime rem geret: clauso  
morem a tergo acceptipit.  
Deinde conuerso equo/a  
nimaduertit fugam ad se  
versum fieri: quæ res in-  
dicabat populates esse.  
Igitur equitatum omnes  
ad castra propere inuitis  
ac statim Caſum Matium  
cum cohortibus sociorū.  
eumque lachrimans per  
amicitiā/ perque rem pu-  
blicam obſecrat: ne quam  
conuenientia remaneat in  
exercitu vītore: neue ho-  
ſtes inuitos abire ſinat.

Ille breui mādata efficit.  
At Jugurtha munimens  
to caſtorum impeditus/  
cum alijs super vallū præ-  
cipitarentur: alijs in an-  
gustijs ipſi ſibi properan-  
tes officerent: multis a-  
missis in loca munita ſe-  
ſe recipit.

Metellus / infecto nego-  
cio postq; nox aderat / ca-  
ſtra cum exercitu reuers-  
titur. Igitur posterō die  
priusq; ad oppugnandum  
egredetur: equitatum  
omne in ea parte / qua re-

## The batayle

gis aduentus erat: pro casis agitare iubet: portas et proxima loca tribunis dispergit: deinde ipse pergit ad oppidum, atque vix superiore die murum aggreditur. Interim Jugurtha ex occulto repente nostros inuidit: et qui in proximo locati erant paulisper territi pueruntur a tamen reliqui cito tubueniunt. Neque diutius Numidae resiste-  
re quiuiscent: ni pedites cum equitibus permixti magnam cladem in con-  
gressu facerent: quib' il-  
l' treti non vti inequa-  
sti fieri prælio solet) se-  
qui: deinde vero cedere:  
sed aduersis equis cōcur-  
tere: implicate: ac puer-  
bare aciem.

Ita cum expeditis pedi-  
tibus suis hostes pene vis-  
tos dare.

Odem tempore apud Zamam magna vi  
certabatur. Vbi quis  
legat: aut tribunus  
cūtabat: ibi acerime nī  
neque aliis spē in alio  
zīgā in se habere.

posed Jugurtha wolde come to socour his people. The entres into the tentes and places neare to them he commyted and deuided to warde of his vnder capitayns. After that he retourned agayne to the towne and fierily assaylyd the walles in lyke maner as he had done the day before. . . .

In the meane season Jugurtha agayne sodenly stale vpon the romayns: specially on them which coursed before the ten-  
tes: they whiche wey next hym & whōe he encouerted first of all were a lytell tyme sore troubled & abashed: but the remenant of the romayns lyghtly assembled their socours. And so val-  
iantly behaued themselves that the Numidies shuld nat long haue continued the skyryngesse: if theire fotemen myngled with the romayns horsemens had nat in the mydell contyned great myschef and dysorder. For the horsemen of Jugurtha trus-  
syng to h' helpe of these fotemen whiche wey myngled among them: dyd nat first procede forwarde auancing themselue and than retourne backe agayne as the bse is in a batayle of spere men. But they ran in makynge incourses among the thickest of the romayns ouerthwart and sydeling: infoldyng & down-  
blyng they courses: and contendyng to trouble & dysorder the array and order of the forwarde and wnges of the romayne hoost. In somoche that what with the Numidys on horsebacke & with them on fote it lacked but lytell: but the romains were confounded and ouercome in that greeous conflict.

But here wyll I leue the horsemens of the romains fightyng for theire lyues and honour agaynst Jugurtha and his spere men. And nowe shall I declare howe Metellus the chefe capitayn of the romayns behaued hymselfe with his hoost in the assault of zamam. . . .

How Metellus behaued himselfe for his part & of the great cōfylct whiche the romayns had agaynst the Numidians: Metellus with his fotme assaylinge the towne of zamam for the one part: and Jugurtha fierily fighting with the romayns spermen for the other part. The xxxvii chap.

**S**At the same tyme whyle this skirmys-  
she cōtinued bywene the romains horsemens and the Numidys whiche were with Jugurtha: the assault also agaynst the towne of zamam indu-  
ced with moche strengthe / violence and mur-  
der. And specially wher as Metellus had assynd his vnder-

captayns on every syde of the towne (as I haue sayd before) there cōtyned the assaut most shaply. One of them put nat his trust nor hope in other: but evey man in his owne dedes & in hymselfe. Under the same maner dyd the garyson & inhabitanentes of the towne behauie themselfe: they fought manly agayne & also ordyned all thynges conuenient for their defensce in every place of the towne. Bothe the parties were redy and moare besy one to stryke & wounde other than to defende themselfe. The clamoure & noyse was myrt with exhortacion and confort of some / and the ioye of the quellars & murderers was mingled with the wapling of them which were quelled & murdred. The sounde of the armoure / horzious and strokes mounted to the ayre. The sky was darked with darter fleyng on eyther syde. And the walles & dychesse were dyed w blode: and fylled with dead corses pytefull to se. But whan the Numidens were somwhat at layset / and whan the romayns a lytell abated & remitted the assaut: than they whiche defended the walles of the towne loked out a farre & intentifely behelde the batayle of the horsmen which styll cōtinued. There myght one haue sene them somtyme myry & ioyous / somtyme full of dolour & heupnesse after as they sawe the case of the part of Jugurth went forwarde or bacwarde. And aswell as they coude besene & herde of their felowes which were with theyr kyng Jugurth: some warned them to audacie / some exhorted them to courage / other they gaue them signes w their handes or with the testure of their bodyes & cōtenances mouyng and excityng them to boldnesse. If they sawe a romayne stryke a Numidyan: they moued & withdrew their bodyes awyding the strike as yf it had ben themselfe whiche had ben striken. And if they sawe a Numidyen cast a dart agaynst a romayn: they moued their bodyes also as they had cast it themselfe. Thus toke they so intentifely hede to the batayle that they forgate themselfe where they were / and it semed them that they had ben with their felowes in batayle. Whan Marius which besyged the towne on that syde: vnderstode this maner & behauour of the inhabitautes & garyson: he abated his fierenes for policy & was moare slowe in besyegyng of the towne than before sayning that he had no trust nor confidence to wynne it and suffered the Numidynes within the towne to beholde the batayle of their kynges / for a whyle without any resystence or besynesse. But whā he sawe them most intentifely beholding the batayle / & most amased for the besynesse of their felowes & countrey men: than se denly withall his power he gaue assaut to the walles so that many of the romayns with ladders and other ingynes / had almost mounted unto the hyghest part of

Pariter oppidani agere:  
oppugnare: aut parare  
omnibus locis: audiūs al-  
teri alteros fauciare / quā  
semet regere.

Clamor pm̄x̄tus hortac-  
tione: leticia: gemitu: itē  
strepitus armorū ad cœ-  
lum ferri: tela vtrinque  
volare.

Sed illi, qui menia defen-  
ſabāt: vbi hostes paulu-  
lum modo pugnam remis-  
ferant: intenti prælium  
equestre prospectabant.  
Eos ( vt quæq; res lugur-  
thæ erant ) letos modo:  
pauidos modo aiaduer-  
teres: ac sicuti audiri a  
suis aut cerni possent: ad-  
monere alijs: horrari alijs:  
aut manu significare:  
aut niti corporib; et hue  
et illuc quasi vitabundis.  
aut iaciētes tela agitare.

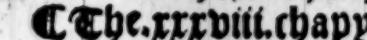
Quod vbi Mario cogni-  
tum erat ( nā is in ea par-  
te curabat ) cōfulto leui-  
us agere: ac diffidentiam  
rei similiare: pati numis-  
tas sine tumultu prælū-  
regis visere.

Ita illis studio fuorū a-  
strictis, repente magna vi-  
murum aggreditur: et iā  
scalis aggredi milites/

## The batayle

prope summa ceperantur  
cum oppidani cōcurrūt;  
lapides ignem; alia præ-  
terea tela ingerunt.  
Nos tri primo resistere de-  
inde ubi vne ac altere sca-  
la imminutæ sunt: qui sup-  
stiterant afflicti sunt.  
Ceteri quoquo modo pos-  
tuere: pauci integrū: ma-  
gna pars confecti: vulne-  
ribus abeūt Deinde utrius-  
que plūm nox dierunt.

them. Thynhabitantes seyngethys expelled their amasednes  
remembryng themselfe: and ran manly agaynst them with re-  
sistence thowyng vpon them stones/fyre/ & all maner darteres  
of batayle. The romayns at begynnyng resisted valiantly/  
defendyng themselfe and auancynge them to the walles. But  
whan thynhabitantes had first ouerthowen and broken one  
ladder/and than ouertoured an other. They whiche abode  
last were maymed or slayne. Inone the remenant departed &  
gave over the walles vnder the best maner that they coude a  
fewe or none hole. For a great part of them withdrew them-  
selle transfired with mortall wondres. Inone after the nyght  
fell vpon them whiche caused both the parties to desyst / and  
leue of the batayle. 

Chow Metellus remoued the siege from zam-  
main: & ho we Bomylchar so swaded Jugurth  
that he yelded hymselfe / his kyngdome / and all  
other thynges to mercy & grace of the romayns.  
And ho we Jugurth after losse of his men / trea-  
soure/elephantes/armour/and horse:changed his  
mynde agayne.  The xxxviii.chapyter.

Metellus vbi videt  
frustra incepit: ne-  
que oppidum capi:  
neque Iugurtham nit-  
tis ex insidijs aut suo lo-  
co pugnam facere: etiam  
estatem exartam esse; ab  
Zammā discellit: et in  
hijs vrbibus quæ ad se de-  
fecerant: satisq; munite  
loco aut menibus erant:  
præsidia imponit.

Ceterum exercitum in p-  
uertia quæ proxima est  
Numide hyemandi gra-  
tia collocat.  
Neque id tempus ex aliis  
orum more quieti aut lux-  
uria concedit.  
Sed quoniam armis bel-  
lum parum procedebat:  
insidias regi per amicos  
tēdere: et corum persidia  
pro armis vti parat.



¶ Ut whan Metellus sawe his pur-  
pose and labort all in hayne: and that he  
coude nat wynne the towne. and also that  
Jugurthe dyd nought / but by gyle and  
falshode/noz wolde nat fight but yf it were  
in places for his profet & great auantage.  
And also whā he perceyued that the somer  
was passed: he departed from the siege of zāmā: & in such  
townes as he had won of Jugurth whiche were strongly de-  
fended with walles & water: he set garnyson & soudyours of  
his company to defende them. But the remenant of his army  
he couayed & ordred in the next puince unto Numidie which  
was subget to the romayns: to remayne there till the sharp-  
nesse of the wynter were passed. Ne in the meane tyme he  
suffred nat them/noz hymselfe to be corrupted w superfluous  
welth/test/noz lechery: after the maner of other before hym.  
But bycause the warre proceded forwarde but lytell with ar-  
mour or strength: he begā to proue & prepare treason agaynst  
a treatour/dyscept agaynst a dysceyuer: and gyle agaynst gy-  
le of Jugurth: and this thought he to proue by suche as were  
moost chesteendes of Jugurth & most familier about hym.  
So that he purposed to vse the falshode and treason of them  
agaynst their

agaynst their master: in stede of armour and batayle. Wherfore first of all he began to proue the mynde of Bomilchar whiche had ben before at Rome with Jugurth: and (as I haue sayd before) fled priuely fro thens for the beth of Massilia leuyng his fraternies behynde i danger for his cause. Metellus consydred that this Bomilchar (by cause of the great frendshyppe and familiarite whiche he had with Jugurth) honest myght dysceyue and betray hym. Wherfore (as I haue sayd before) he began and went in hande with hym first of all by promising of great rewardes. And first of all he dyd somoche that this Bomilchar came priuely to Metellus & spake with hym. Metellus anone promysed hym on fayth & treuth to do so for hym: that the senatours shuld pardon hym of all thyngs past/and of his lyfe & goodes. So that he wolde betray or deshyuer vnto hym Jugurth other quycke or deed: lyghtly he perswaded the numidyan. For andon Bomilchar agreed thereto: what for his treacherous & false mynde which he had of nature. And what for that he doubted if any peace or composition after that shulde be made bytwene Jugurth & the romayns hymselfe shuld be deluyerd by cōdycion to the romayns to be punished for h beth of Massilia whom he caused to be slayne at Rome. This Bomilchar whan he sawe his tyme toke leue of Metellus on this apoyntement and sone after came to Jugurth whome he founde doutefull in care and bewayling his aduers and mysterable fortunes with profunde syghes and hewynesse/and doutyng what way was most expedient to be taken. Bomilchar after many wordes beganne to counsell & warne hym/praynge/and obtestyng hym pteously weyng and wayling: and requyring that at last he wolde make some prouision for the sauergarde & socours of hymselfe/ of his chil dren & frendes: and for the people of Numidya which well had deserued agnienst hym to be prouided for and better sene to. Bomilchar also objected to Jugurth howe he and his menne were ouercome in euery batayle/ and his people also dimis shed or alyenate from hym: his feldes and townes wasted & distroyed or els in possession of his ennemis/ his men some taken & in prison. Some slayne: and many wounded & maymed/ the rychesse of his realme dyninished and wasted. Bomilchar alleged also to hym that he had proued the strength of his loundours and fauour of fortune sufficently pouough/ wherfore it were better for hym to se some remedy and prouision for all these ylles and other mo/ and to beware lest whyle he prolonged the tymc and doubted: the people of the countrey shulde prouide for themselfe without his advise or counsell. With these wordes and other lyke Bomilchar induced the Jugurth.

I. i.

Igitur Bomilchar em̄ quā  
Romā cum Jugurtha tra-  
evat et inde vadibus da-  
tis clam Massilianacis in-  
dictū fugerat q̄ ei p̄ ma-  
ximā amicitia proxī col-  
pia fallēndi erat multis  
policitatiōibus aggredit:  
ac primo efficit vti ad se  
coloquēdi gratia occul-  
te veniat: deinde fide da-  
ta si Jugurtham viuū au-  
necatum sibi tradidisset:  
fōrē vt illi senatus impun-  
itatē et sua oīa cōces-  
deret: facile Numida p-  
suadētū ingenio rufido  
tū metuenti ne si pax cō  
romanis fieret: ipse p̄ cō  
ditiones ad supplicium  
traderetur

Is vbi primum opportu-  
num fuit Jugurtham an-  
xium ac miserantem for-  
tunas suas accedit.

Monet atq̄ lachrimans  
obtestatur vti aliquando  
sibi liberisq̄ et gēti Nu-  
midarum optime merita  
prouideat: oībus prelijs  
sese victos: agrū vastatū  
multos mortalis captos  
aut accisos: regn̄ opes  
cōminatas esse: satis se-  
pe iā virtutem militū es-  
fortunam tentaram: ca-  
ueat ne illo cunctāte Nu-  
midia sibi consulant.

His atq; alijs talibus &

## The batayle

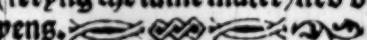
deditionem regis animo  
impellit: mittuntur ad i-  
peratorem legati: qui Ju-  
gurtham imperata factu-  
rum dicerent: ac sine vla-  
pacione sese regnum-  
que suum in illius fidem  
tradere.

Metellus cunctos sena-  
torij ordinis exuberans  
pro pere accersi iubet: eo  
rum atque aliorum quo s  
idoneos ducebat: consili-  
um habet.

Iea more maiorum cōs-  
līi decreto p legatos Ju-  
gurtha imperat argenti  
pondō ducentamilia ele-  
phantos omnes: equorum  
et armorum aliquātulū.

Quæ postq sine mora fa-  
cta sūt: iubet omnes per-  
fugas vindos adduci.  
Eoru magna pars vii ius-  
sum erat adducti.  
Pauēi quum primū dedi-  
tio cepit: ad regem Bo-  
chum i mauritanā abie-  
rant. Igitur Jugurtha  
vbi armis virisque et pes-  
cunia spoliatus est: cum  
ipse ad imperandum Tisi-  
diū vocaretur rursus ce-  
pit flectere aim: et ex ma-  
la conscientia digna ri-  
smere.

Denique multis diebus p  
dubitatem consumptis: qūrum modo tēdio re-  
rum aduersarum oīa bel-  
lo potiora duceret: inter-  
dum secū ipse reputaret  
q̄ grauis casus inseruitum  
ex regno foret mul-  
tis magnisque præsidij s  
ne quicq perditis de inte-  
gro bellum sunit.

kynges mynde to make some cōposition or els to yelde hym  
selfe and all other thynges to mercy & grace of the romayns.  
Anone embassado's were sende to Metellus to certify hym  
that Jugurth was redy to do what euer he wolde desyre or  
cōmaunde hym: and that he wolde cōmpt & yelde bothe hym-  
selfe and his kyngdome to the fayth & grace of Metellus:  
and of the romayns without any pacyon/conuenant or ex-  
ception: sauyng onely as it pleased them to deale with hym.  
Metellus heryng of this mynde of Jugurth was very glade:  
and cōmaunded all the most wyse/noble & worthp men of his  
army anone to be called togyder vnto hym from their Wyn-  
ctyng places. Whan they were cōe than toke he couzell of them  
& of other suche as he knewe wylest & most discrete touchynge  
the embassade of Jugurth. Anone it was cōcluded & decreed  
among the counsell and declared to the embassadours (acordyng  
to the olde custome of Rome) that they shuld cōmaunde  
Jugurth to sende to Metellus & the romayns two hundred  
thousande pounde weyght of syluer: all his clyphates whiche  
he occupied in warre: and a certayne quantite of armour and  
a nobre of his chise horse. All these thyngs were fulfylled and  
done of Jugurth without any tary or delay. Wherfore anone  
after Metellus cōmaunded agayne that all they whiche had  
betrayed his hoost / forslaken hym & fled to Jugurth shuld be  
bounden also brought to hym agayne. The most part of them  
were brought as he cōmaunded: but a fewe of them whan they  
herde first of this cōposition (seryng the same mater) fled vns  
to Bocchus kyng of the moriens.   
Whan Jugurth after this maner was bereft of his armour  
of his horse/ of his men/ also of his treasour. Anone after he  
was called by Metellus to come to a towne called Tyslidium  
there to here what farthermore shulde be cōmaunded to hym: &  
to yelde hymselfe to the empire of Rome accordyng to his em-  
bassade. But he began than to change & to tourne his mynde  
agayne dredyng for the knolegynge of his cruell dedes that he  
shuld never escape cōdigne punysshement if he were ones l the  
romaynshandes. Thus he cōtynued many dayes in douting  
what was best to be done. Somtyme he volued in mynde ra-  
ther to subdue hymselfe to any difficultie & to byde all paynes  
than to begyn warre agayn: cōly dyring the aduers & vnhappy  
fortune whiche he had before. Somtyme agayne he called to  
mynde how greuous a fall it shuld be to delcede from a kyng-  
dome into subiection and bondage. But at cōclusion whan in  
bayne & to none effect he had lost suche great ordynance and  
helpe of warre as he had lately desyuered to Metellus: as a  
volage b̄agned man/ he fully determined agayne to begyn &

continue the warre with Metellus: rather than to yelde hym selfe to deth or captiuite.

But duryng this season at Rome was a counsell amounge the senatours concerning thassignment of rule and gouerniaunce of the prouinces belongyng to thempyre: in whiche counsell it was decreed that the countrey and warre of Numidie shulde be commytted to Metellus by proxogacion of his authorite for another yere more.

But here wyll I leue a whyle to speke of Metellus: & write of the ambition of Marius: and how he behaued hymselfe in supplantyng the same Metellus for his rowme & dignite.

How Marius by ambition laboured to be consull and to prosecute the warre of Numidie: and how he detacted and supplated the consull Metellus.

### The xxxix. chapyter.

**A**t the same season the sayd Marius was in a towne named Utica/and there made supplication & oblation to the pdolles with moche sacrifice to the intent that it myght be his fortune (by helpe) to haue the place of Metellus. A custome batina ble was among the people at those dayes: when they slew any beest in sacrifice: to loke wherin the intrayles and bowelles of þ same beest so sacrificed. where was shewed vnto them dyuers tokens wherþer they shuld haue as my hope to bring that mater to effect: for whiche they sacrificed oþers nat. And often tymes the wycked spyzites to cause them愉悦 in their pdolalry: and to gyue credence to that blynd errour shewed many tokes to the insuch maner sacrifice: which tokens they often founde true. But now to my purposc. The preest of the pdolles whiche sacrificysed for Marius shewed great and marueilous tokens vnto hym: whereby he myght greatly trust to come to his intent and purposeþyddynghym prosecute that thyng on whiche he had settē his mynde: and haue sure confydence in his goddes. Sayng that if he wilde proue the extremite of fortune diligētly and often: than doulle esse euery thyng prosperously shulde happen to hym. But Marius afore that tym: longe season wonderously desyred in his mynde the dignite of the consull. And to say truthe he wanted nothyng whiche longed to hym: whiche shulde haue such a dignite saue onely antiquite of his progeny and auncient noblenesse of þynghe. For thought he were þata gentyl Jugurth.

J.lli.

Et Romæ senat⁹ de prouincijs cōsultus: Numis diā Metello dēcreuerat.

Pro Et idem tempus Verco forte Caro Marius per hostias diis supplicanti magna atque mirabilia portèdi haruse per dixerat.

Proinde quæ animo agi-  
tabat frat̄ diis ageret.

quod sepissime fortunam ex-  
preiretur: et omnia prospe-  
ri euentura.

At illum iam antea cons-  
folarus ingēs cupidio ex-  
agitabat: ad quem capie-  
dum preter vetustate fa-  
milie ois abunde erant:

## The batayle

industria probitas / milicie magna scientia / animus belli ingens / domi modicus: libidinis: et diuitiarum visor: tantummodo glorie audius.

Sedis natu et per omne pueritiam Arpini alitus vbi primum etas militie patiens fuit stipendijs faciundis: non greca facundia: neq; urbanis munditijs se se exercuit: ita inter artis bonas integrum in genium breui adoleuit.

Ergo vbi primum tribunatus militare a populo petit plerisque faciem etus ignorantibus facile notus per omnis tribus declaratus.

Deinde ab eo magistratu alium post alium sibi perperit: semperque in potesta tibus eo modo agitabat: ut ampliore honore q; gecebat dignus habetur.

Tamen is ad id locorum talis vir consulatum pereere non audebat.

Nam postea ambitio p; ceps datus est.

Et sam tum alias magistratus plebs: consulatu nobilitas p; manus inter se tradebat. Nouus nemo tam praedatus: neq; tam egregius factis erat: quin s; indignus illo honore haberetur.

Igitur vbi Marius hars,

man of the first heid: neuerthelesse his condicions were worthy and excellēt. In hym was great experiece of wyldeome, moche probite/honestie and savnesse. He had great polycy and consyng in chualry: in batayle his mynd was excellent & bolde. But in peace it was lowe and moderate. He ouercame couesitye and sensualite of his body. He despred no; coueyted no; thyng earthly saue glorie/laude/and worshyp. This Marius was borne & brought vp by all his chyldhode in the countrey of Champayne beyonde Fraunce in a towne named Jeppne. But assone as he was increased / so that he myght bere harnesses and byde the hardnesse of warfare: he concluded to lyve on the wages of chualrie. And in that study he exercysed hymselfe: and nat in eloquence of greke langage or in other study or science: nor yet in the superfluous aparayle nor carnall lustes of citezins vnto which he never subdued his body. And thus was he indued with good maners: and exercysed among honest occupations and so continued that his hole and vndeuyled wit, shortly increased & crafted himselfe growyng to honour and vertu. First whan this Marius delyved of the comonytē of Rome to haue an office: that is to say to be ordyned protectour of the londyours: many of the citezins knewe nat his persone: bycause he was alway from the cite in warres & batayle: but his actes made his name well knownen. Wheresoever after that the comonytē vnderstode that he was Marius of whose nobles all Italy moch comuned & talked:anon they graunted his petition/and proclaimed hym protectour of the londyours over all the provinces & tribes of Italy. In that maistership & office he behaued hymselfe so well & wylly that after that he obtained an other office of more worshyp and authozite: and after that agayne an other of hyer dignite. And shortly to speke: in every office and dignite he so behaued hymselfe that every man thought and counted hym worthye of more dignite and honour than he had. Howebeit for all these condicions: as honorable as he was: he durst never before desye the office of consull of Rome till this tyme whan he had suche confort by his sacrifice. But whan he was thus wanred and put in hope and confort / euer after he was helpeyngh inclined to ambition and couesitye of that dignite.

¶ At this season the comonytē of Rome had all other offices among them or at their gyft and distribution. But the estates and noble men kept among them and in their handes the consulshyp verely one succedyng other by election. So that of the comonytē was none so noble nor excellent of dedes/kyng that was reputed unworthy of that dignite / and as who capayble and polluted. But whan Marius sawe and con-

syzed that the wordes and counsell of the enchauntour and preest which behelde his sacrifice pretended to the same poynt and concluson as the desyre of his mynde moued hym longe before. Inone he came to his capitayne Metellus besechyng hym to be dyscharged of the batapletyll he myght go to Rome to thintent to desyre the consulshyppe of the senatours. But howbeit that in this Metellus was vertu / glorie / woz shyp / and all other thynges longyng to a good man plentifullly ynough. Neverthelesse of his courage and mynde was he so what proude / despisyng / dysdaynyng other: whiche were nat come of so hy lynage as he was. But specially he was stately and proude of mynde: whiche is a comen byce and myschef among estates and gentylmen. Wherfore Metellus heryng this interprise of Marius / first of all was moued with the newelty of his petition. For at that tyme were none wonte to speke for that dignite / but if they were come of a noble stocke. And so was nat Marius. And thus Metellus marueyled moche at his enterpryse: and who myght counsell hym thereto: warynge hym as vnder colour of amyte and frendshyppe / nat to presume vpon so contrary and unlikely a thyng: nor to eralte his mynde so hy aboue fortune conuenient for his state and condicione. Sayng also to hym that every thing was nat to be couepted nor desyzed of euery man. And that it became hym well by reason to be contended / pleased and satissid with that honour whiche he had / that was his owne / and nat to desyre thyngs vnuete for his degré. And finally he ethorized / couiselled hym to beware to desyre / thyng of the Romayns whiche laufullly might be denyed vnto hym: cosyding and hauyng regarde to his lynage / aunctety.

**C**after Metellus had couiselled Marius with these wordes and other lyke: and that he coude nat tournie nor apease his mynde / he answered hym at last that assone as he coude couenes nicely (nat lettynge the besynesse of the comen wele) he wolde graunt his desyre / petition. But after this whan Marius desyzed the same dyscharge importunely / often: he made hym answer saying that he shulde nat make so great hast to Rome for that purpose for he shuld come tymely ynough to demaude that dignite acōpanred with the sonne of the same Metellus / whiche sonne shulde also go to Rome in tyme to come to demaude of the senato's the same dignite with Marius. This sonne of Metellus was at that tyme in the armys of his father Metellus continually exercysing the feates of warre nat with standyng that he was but .xx. yere of age. This answere of Metellus syzed Marius agaynst hym with grecuous yre / wrath / what for the honour whiche he desyzed: and what for

Jugurth.

foli.

spicis dicta eodē quo cu-  
pido animi hortabat in-  
tendere videt ab Metel-  
lo consulatum petendi  
gratia missionem rogat.  
Cui q̄q virtus / gloria at-  
que alia optanda bonis  
supabant: tamen inerat  
cōtempor animus et su-  
pbia c̄e nobilitatis ma-  
lum.

Itaque primum cōmotus  
insolita re / mirari eius  
consilium: et quasi per a-  
micitiam moueret: ne tam  
praua incipiet: ne supra

sorūnam aīm gereret.  
non omnia omnibus cu-  
piēda esse: debere ille res  
suas satis placere.

Postrē caueret id pete-  
re a po. romā quod illi  
tute negaretur.

Postq̄ hæc atq; alia talia  
dixit: neque animus Ma-  
rii flectitur: respōdit vbi  
primum potuist̄: p̄ ne  
gotia publica facturum  
fese quaē peteret.  
Ac postea sepe eadem po-  
stulantī fertur dixisse: ne  
festinaret abire: satis ma-  
ture illum cum filio consu-  
latum petitutum.

Is eodem tempore in cō-  
tubernio patris ibidem  
militabat ānos nat⁹ cir-  
citer viginti.

Quāies Marium tū pro  
honore quem affectabat:

## The batayle

tum pro licentia redeundi quem ab eo impetrare ne quibat; contra Metellum vehementer accederat. Ita cupidine atq[ue] ira pessimis consultoribus gratiarum: neque facto vi- lo neque dicto abstineret quod modo ambicio sum totet.

Milites quibus in hiber- nis praerat laxiore impe- rio q[ue] ante habere.

apud negotiatores quo- magna multitudo Utica erat: criminose et simul magnifice de bello loqui dum d[omi]na pars exercitus si sibi p[ro]mitteretur: paucis diebus Iugurtham in ca- thenis habiturum: ab im- peratore c[on]sulto bellum trahi: q[uod] homo inanis et regie supbie imperio ni- mis gauderet:

Quae omnia illis eo fir- muora videbantur: quia diuturnitate belli res fa- miliares corrupserat: et animo cupienti nihil fas- tis festinatur.

Erat preterea in exerci- tu nostro numida quidam nomine Gauda Manasta balis filius: Massinissa ne- pos: quem M[ar]cipsa testa- mento secundum heredem scripsera: morbis confe- stus et obeata causam m[ar]te paululū immunita. Cui Metellus peteti mo-

the licence to depart whiche he coude nat optayne of hym by no p[re]ayer nor request at his pleasure. In somoche that he en- raged agaynst Metellus moued by desyre of that office and prouoked by p[re]re whiche two vices ambition & p[re]re counselle and impelled this Marius to moch yll agaynst the sayd Me- tellus sparyng nouther woorde nor dede whiche myght enda- mage or hynder hym his honour and name. And that myght helpe or auaunce hymselfe by ambition to come to the dignite whiche he desyred. He gouerned the soudours which passed for the the wynter vnder his gouernance nat as he ought to do: but suffered them to haue their pleasure to thintent therby to optayne their fauour and goodwyll in his enterprise. Also he speake often in blamynge Metellus & proudly comendyng & exalting hymselfe vnto the marchantes of Rome: of whome was great resot and cōcours to the sayd cite of Utica where Marius soioured. And often tymes he booseted sayenge to them that if the one halfe of the army were graunted and cō- mytted to hym within fewe dayes he wolde behaue hymselfe that he wolde haue Iugurth in bondes and subiection. Fas- thermore he sayed to them in auancyng hymselfe that Me- tellus prolonged the batayle for the nonest for a craft because he was a man pompous and desyrous of glorie & worshyp bitterly reiopsinge in authorite and gyuen to pride and affec- tion of dignite: and bycause he knewe well that whyle the ba- tayle continued he shuld be reputed in maner as a kyng ther- fore he dyd his deuopre the moxe to prolonge the warre to thende that in the meane tyme he myght exalte and magnify hymselfe. The wordes of Marius semed to the sayd marcha- tes certayne and true: and also as they thought (by suche in- formacion) moost expedient to the commen wayle that some newe capitayne were chosen whiche shoxly wolde fynyshe that warre. For by long contynuance of the same warre: ma- ny of the sayd marchantes had wasted & spent moche of their substance and richeesse. And also to such desyrfull myndes as they had nothyng coude to fast be hasted or brought to ende.

**C**Mozeouer at this season was in company of the romayne army a certayne Numidyan named Gauda whiche was sonne of Manastaball: and neuewe vnto Massinissa. His cipsa in his testament ordayned that this Gauda shulde beses- conde heire of Numidy after the deth of his two sonnes and of Iugurth. This Gauda was soze enfebled with dysseases and syckenesse: and for that cause his mynde was altytell en- dulled and priuate of reason and memorie. Whyle this Gau- da (as sayed is) was in the romayns arm[ies]: he requyred of

Metellus to suffre hym to haue his seat and siege next vnto hym after the vse of kynges of Numidie. Also after that by cause of defence and garde of his body: he desyred that a company of soudyours of the romayns myght be graunted and assigned to hym. But Metellus extremely denyed bothe his petitiones saynge for the first: that suche honour longed onely to them whome the romayns toke and named for kynges. And also for hys seconde petition he sayd that it were an vnauysed and iniurious ordinace if the romayne soudyours were gyuen or assigned to the garde and seruice of a Numidyan whiche was no kyng but a soudyour lyke many mo hyred for syppende. Whyle Gauda was displeased and angry with Metellus for denyng of these his petitiones: Marius came to hym and prouoked hym to reuenge the displeasure & injury which the captayne had done to hym with his helpe & auauncement. This Gauda (as I haue sayd before) was of feble and unstable mynde: and the mennes wytte was of lytell valoure by meanes of diseases which long had holden hym. Wherfore Marius with his elegant fayre and flatering wordes at his owne pleasure induced hym & exalted his mynde sayeng that he was a kyng an excellent and great man: and also neuewe to the worthy & noble kyng Massinissa. Wherfore (sayd he) yf Jugurth were outher slayne or taken prisoneit wyllickes ly to cōe to that pouint: that the kyngdome of Numidie shulde be assigned & cōmytted to hym of the senatours without any taty or cōsystence: whiche thyngh shulde shoztely be brought to passe yf Marius hymselfe were creat consull in place of Metellus & than assigned to execute and fynyshe the warre with Jugurth. Under this maner Marius counselled and inducēd bothe the sayd Gauda / the romayne knyghtes / the cōmen soudyours / and also the marchauntes and occupiers whiche were in the towne at that season w̄ many other whome he impelled with his wordes so: that some of them for loue whiche they had to Marius: And other some for great hope and desyre whiche they had to haue peace and cōcozde wrote to Rome to their kynsmen & frendes of the batayle of Numidie & that very shapely agaynst Metellus desyring & besechyng them to labour at Rome withall their myght that Marius myght be elect consull and assigned to execute the warre of Numidie. And thus at Rome was the consulshipp desyred by many men with great fauour and very honest petitiones for Marius. Also at that tyme had the sayd Marius this auantage. For the cōmentie at that season deposed many of the states: & exalted such as were newe gentylmen after the lawe of one named Manlius whiche before had ben pteccout of the cōmentie.

re regum vt tellam iuxta ponere: item postea cu-  
stodie causa turmā equis-  
tum romanorum: vtrum  
que negauerat: honorem  
q̄ eorū modo foret quos  
populus romanus reges  
appellauiisset: presidium  
q̄ cōtumeliosū foret: si ea-  
quites romani satelliti  
numidæ traderentur.

Hunc Marius anxiū ag-  
greditur: atque hortatur  
vt contumeliarum imp-  
atoris cū suo auxilio pes-  
nas petat: hominem ob-  
morbos animo parū va-  
lido secunda oratione ex-  
tolli: illum regem ingen-  
tem virum Massinissæ ne-  
potem esse: si Iugurtha  
captus aut occisus foret  
imperium Numidiae sine  
mora habiturum.

id adeo mature posse eue-  
nire: si ipse consul ad id  
bellum missus foret.  
Itaque et illum / et equi-  
tes romanos / milites et  
negociatores alios ipse:  
plerosq; pacis spe impel-  
lit uti romam ad suos ne-  
cessarios aspere i Metel-  
sum de bello scribant,

Marium imperatore pos-  
scat sic illi a multis mora-  
tibus honestissima sus-  
fragatione consulat⁹ pe-  
tetatur. Simile a tempe-  
state plēs nobilitate ius-  
fa per legē manliam no-  
uos extollebat.

## The batayle

Ita Mario cuncta processere.

This Manlius ordeyned & enacted a lawe that if any thryng were vngoodly done and agaynst ryght of the statcs beyng in any office or dignite: than he whiche so had done shulde be deposed of his office: and in his place some newe gentyllo or actyue man of the comunitie sette and deputed and so exalted. This lawe at those dayes was kept in effect and executed at Rome: wherfore every thyng proceeded prosperously to the purpose & profit of Marius. For (as I haue sayd before) in hym was no noblenesse of auncient lynage nor bythe.

But here wyll I leaue to speke of the ambition of Marius and retourne to wryte of Jugurth: and howe he behaued hymselfe agaynst Metellus.

Howe Jugurth renewed the warre agaynste Metellus/and how the numidyans inhabyters of the towne of Vacca by treason murdred the garnyson of romayns whiche Metellus had set in the same towne. ¶ The xi. chapyter.

**I**utrum Jugurtha post q̄ omisla deditio[n]e bel lumi incipie[n]tū magna cura parare omnia festi nare: exercitū cogere: ciuitates quā a se defoce sat formidie: aut ostēando p[ro]m̄ia affectare: co munire suos locos: arma

e[st]ola: aliaque que spe paci, am serat reficere aut cōm[un]icari: seruitia rōas torum allucere: et eos ipsos qui i præsidij erāt pecunia tentare: prorsus in e[st]atum nihil neq[ue]: quietum pati: cuncta agitare.

Igitur Vaccēses quo Me illus in initio Jugurtha pacificante presidium i-



**J**at the meane tyme whan Jugurth had broken the cōposition whiche he had befo[re] made with Metellus by cou[nc]ill of Bomil chat/and had concluded agayne to begyne the warre:than anone he prepared all thyngs necessary to warre with great diligence. And w[hy] great hast he assēbled an arm[y]. Moreouer he dayly troubled with th[er]etnynges/or feare/or els with great rewardes: such cities & townes as befor had for[s]aken hym & yelded themselfe to Metellus. So that he spared no polycie to make them to render themselfe agayne to hym. In such holdes & townes as were in his possession: he set garnyson and defence of men of warre. He renewed & bought agayne armour & weppyn: and all other thyngs which he had lost before:or delyuerd to Metellus in hope of peace. He attysed vnto hym many of the romayns subgettes & bondemen:by promisynge to them their libertie. He also proued & attempted w[hy] rewardes them:whome Metellus had set & assigned in garnyson/garde and defence of such places as he had wonne in Numid[ia]:so that vitterly he suffred nothyng to be left quyet nor vnassayed:but by all manner meanes made prouysien for hymselfe mouyng & putting in profe every thyng. But amonge all other thinhabitantes of the cite called Vacca (in whiche Metellus at begynnge had set his garnison:whan Jugurth first sought his peace of

Metellus) were desyred often of Jugurth and with great importune instance exited to treason. In somoche that at last they assented to hym to cōspite agaynst the romayns . Thins habitantes of the cite dyd nat yelde themselfe from Jugurth with their owne good will: and namely thestes and rulers therof dyd never yelde them to Metellus saue faynedly . Wherfore specially they were the first that conspired agaynst hym secretely amonge themselfe . For why as it often happe ned the commentie and specially of the Numidiens were vns ttable of mynde / bitterly enclined to sedicion and discorde covetous of newe thynges and changes : and contrary to rest and quyetnesse . But (as I haue sayd before) whan the chyfe of this cite had secretly concluded and apoynted their mater and treason amonge themselfe: agaynst the thyde day they ordyned that the same thyde day nexte after shulde be com maunded solem/holy/and worshypped ouer all the countrey of Affrike and Numidie . Whiche day shewed and pretended by all similitude myrth / game/ and sport : rather than any dñe to the romayns whiche were in garde and gernison of the cyte . But the Numidiens full of prodiction and treason whan they sawe their tyme called vnto their houses all the chefe capitaynes and maister loundyours of the romayn whiche were in the towne . And also one named Turpilius : whome Metellus had ordayned to be his lyutenant/procouer and chife capitayne of the towne : they enusted and called as if it had ben to chefe and seek them/ one to one house / an other to an other . But this there was suche as the Scorpions is wont to make : whiche whyle she maketh glad semblant with her mouthe mortally styngeth with the stape : so this feest was a cloke to mortall treason . For whyle the romayns were in myddes of their darynes/ diuarmed suspectynge no paryll . All the Numidiens at a tokens gyuen and at one houre apoynted before / lewe eche one his geest whiche dyned with hym without sauour: so that amonge them all escaped nat one except the layd Turpilius her capitayne or lyeutenant of the towne . This done: al the Numidiens togyder set vpon the remenant of the comens loundyours whiche wans dyed and stayed abrode in the towne / in the streets/ dispersed abrode without any armour : as is wont on suche a day without oderisirg nor dowering no daunger . Some of the comens whan the stes had made them pypes of this treason came also to helpe them/ and some other ignorant of the mater sayng that / that they had desyre and pleasure in suche murther inuaded the romayns also : For though they were ignorant of the counsell of this dede : yet the noysse of skirmyshys

posuerat / fatigati regis supplicij: neq; anteua sua voluntate alienati principes ciuitatis iter se cōtrariant.

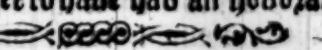
Nam vulgus vti plerūq; solet et maxime Numidarum ingenio mobili seditionum atque discordia osum, erat cupidū nouarum rerum quieti et otio aduersum. Deinde cōpositis inter se rebus in die tertium constituant q; i festus celebratus que per omnem Africam: ludū et lasciuiam magis q; somnidinem ostēdebat. Sed ubi tempus fuit centuriones tribunosq; militares et ipsum præfectū opidi. Tunc Turpilius Sillanum alijs alium in domos suas inuicit;

eos ois præter Turpilius inter epulas obrūcanc.

Postea milites palantes inermes quippe i tali die ac sine imperio aggredisuntur. Non autem  
Ide plebs facit pars edog & i nobilitates alijs Rudi o talium rerum incitati,  
Qvis acti cohilicatio? id ignorabitur tumultus ipsi se et res nouae fatis place

## The batayle

ant. Romani milites I-  
taliis metu incerti igno-  
ratiq; quid potissimum fa-  
cerent trepidare. Ad  
arcem oppidi vbi signa  
et scuta erant presidiem  
hostium: portæ ante clausæ  
se fugam prohibebat ad  
hoc mulieres pueriq; pro-  
tectis adficiitorum saxa  
et alia que locus præbe-  
bat certati anceps malu-  
neq; a fortissimis ifirmis-  
simo generi resisti posse:  
fuxta boni maliq; strenui  
et ibecilles multi obtruc-  
cati sunt. In ea ranta  
asperitate scuissimis nu-  
midis et oppido vndique  
clauso. Turpilius praefec-  
tus unus ex omnibus Itali-  
is profugit intactus. Id  
misericordia ne hospitis  
an pacticæ an casu ita e-  
venierit parum coperini-  
nisi quia quod illi in can-  
to malo turpis vita inter-  
gra fama potior fuit im-  
probis instabilisque vis-  
deretur.

and newelty of the mater pleased them nouough. The romayn  
soudyours were ignorant and incertayne of this unprovided  
feate and cruell murder douteynge what was best to be done.  
Theire ennemis compasyng them on euery syde letted them to  
go to the castell of the towne where their armoure and weppyn  
was: and the gates of the towne were shet on euery syde befor  
te this skympshe began / whereby they were prohibyed to  
auoyde the towne. Moreouer women & children threwe downe  
upon them stones / and other thynges that came ner to hande  
from the wyndowes & hyest partes of their houses: steyvynge  
who myght thowte first & most. Thus this doufull and un-  
provided mychese coude nat be eschued: no; they which were  
ryght worshyp & strong soudyours were nat able to resyst the  
very cowardys and feblenes of women and chyldyn whiche  
threwe downe upon them. Thus both good and vil worshyp / &  
unworshyp / strong / & feble: were all slayne without difference.  
In this so great jeopardy: the Numidens beyng mad and  
cruell in murdere / and the gates shette on euery syde: of all the  
romayns / or Italyens: onely Turpilius the captyayne esca-  
ped without hurt of his body. Whynther it so happed by the sa-  
uout of his hoost whiche callid hym to banke: or by some as-  
poyntment of treason: or els by some other chance: it was nat  
knowen fortertayn. But this was knownen that ever after as  
long as he lyued he was reputed for a vyle and a wretched cos-  
warde & without credite; because that in so gret losse & mych-  
ese he coulde it better to escappe: and after to lyue and dye in  
shame and rebuke than manly to haue dyed in defence of the  
towne. And euer after to haue had an honorabile name of a  
worshyp capitayne. 

**C**how Metellus destroyed the towne of Vacca  
and slewe all the inhabitauntes / in reuengyng  
theire treason. And howe Turpilius lyeutenaunt  
or captyayne of towne / was beheded at comman-  
dement of Metellus. **C**he.xli.chap.

**M**Etellus postq; de re-  
bus Vacce actis cō-  
perit paulisp mo-  
sus e conspectu abiit.

Deinde vbi ira et ægritu-  
do permista sum cum ma-  
xima cura vltu ire iniur-  
ias testinat.

**O**man Metellus vnder stode of this la-  
mentable chancie / & treason downe at the towne  
of Vacca: his mynde was mercifully gree-  
ued / abashed / & sadde withall. But to shintene  
that nore shulde parecype his heynesse / he  
withdrew himselfe frome company a lytell tyme: but after  
whan he had satisfied his mynde with teares / and secrete la-  
mentation. And whan his dolour was myred with wrath

and displeasure agaynst that cruell dede: than hasted he hym selfe with great cure & diligence to go reuenge this iniurious and cruell treason. Inone he called forth a legion of soudyo's whiche passed forthe the wynter with hym: and with them also as many horsemens of the Numidypens as he myght assemble whiche had fe laken Jugurth and fled to hym: whome he thought most trusly. His legion he arayed in lyght harnesse and easie armour to thynke to sped the way more redely. And by cause he intended to go about this mater secretly: therfore priuily ewyn with the somme goyng downe he toke his tourney & pceded forwarde to warde Vacca: and laboured so that on the next day after about the thyrde houre he came with his company into a certayne playne a lytell closed or copased about with small downys nat moch hyer than the extremities of the baley. There called he togyder his soudyours whiche were wety for the greate labour of their tourney: and longe way whichthey had gone. Insomuch that they refusyd to procede any farther. But Metellus conforsteth them sayeng that the towne of Vacca was no more but one myle thens. Wherfore he desyred them to suffre & endure the remenant of their labour with pacient myndes: but onely tyll reuenged the veth of the citayns & their felowes whiche were strong & worthy men: and very miserably murdred. Moreouer he shewed to them benignely the great pray which was redy for them: if they wolde manly pcede. Thus were their myndes exalted conforstyd and enbolded with his wordes. Metellus saynþ that: was glad & onone comaunded the horsemens to pcede in the forward these horsemens were numidypens. And the fotemen he comaunded to kepe secrete their standedes/consances/and badges: and to go behynde vnder the shadowe of the horsemens as nere togyder as they myght: and so proceded he toward the towne. Whan the citayns sawe an army approche and moue toward them: at the begynnyng they thought it had ben Metellus (as it was in dede) and onone shyte the gates of the towne agaynst hym. But afterwarde whan they aduyled them well: and sawe that the company which approched made no deuastacion nor destruction by the fildes nor countrey as they went. And also whā they parceyued that the horsemens whiche were in the forward were Numidypens: agayne they thought that it was Jugurth with his company. Wherfore with great toy they issued forthe of the towne to mete hym. Metellus onone parceyued their ignorance and gaue a token to his people to assayle them. The horsemens and fotemen kno- winge the wyll of their capayne by blast of the trūperres as sayled and ouerthwre the comentie whiche came out of the cite

Legionem cum qua hyemabat et q̄ plurimos pōt numidas equites pariter cum occasu solis expeditos educit.

Et postera die circiter horam tertiam peruenit in quādam planicien locis paulo superioribus citi cūuentam. Ibi milites fellos itineris magnitudine etiam abnuētes oī docet: oppidum Vaccam non amplius mille passus um abesse decere reliquā laboreū ēquo alio pati: dum pro ciuib⁹ suis vtris fortissimis atq̄ miseris penas caperent: præterea prad⁹ benigne ostētā sic animis eorum arrestis equites i primo latere: pedites q̄ arctissime ire et signa occultare iubet.

Vaccenses vbi aiaduerte re ad se versum exercitū pgeret: prio (vtris erat) Metellum esse rati: portas clausere. Deinde vbi neq; agros vastari: et eos qui primi aderāt Numidas equites vident: rursum Jugurthā arbitrati cum magno gaudio: obuij procedunt.

Equites et pedites repete signo dato alij vulgū effusum oppido cedere & lij ad portas festinare: pars turres capere.

## The batayle

Ira atque præde spes amplus q[uod] laitudo posse.

Ira Vaccenses biduum modo ex perfidia latati.

Ciuitas magna et opulenta cuncta poena atq[ue] præda fuit.

Turpilius quem prefectum oppidi vnu ex oib[us] profugile supra ostendimus iussus a Metello causam d[icitu]r cere: post q[uod] se parum expurgat: condenatus verberatusq[ue] poenas capite soluit.

Nam si ciuitas ex legio erat.

Et idem tempus Bomilchar cuius ipsius H[ab]itur deditio[n]em quam metu deseruit incep[er]at: suspectus regi et ipse cum suspicans: no[n]as res cupere ad p[ro]niciens dolum querere: diu noctuq[ue] fatigare aim: denique tentando socium sibi adiungit Nabdal[s]

against them disp[er]sed ouer the feldes. Some of the romains ran to the gates of the towne & entered without resistance: and some toke & invaded the towres of the walles maugre the ke[rr]ys. Thus the displeasure & yre whiche the romains had for deth of their felowes: & the hope of prayes of the towne overcame & excluded their werynes which they had in their tourney thyder warde. Thus the inhabitantes of Macca enjoyed their treason but onely two dayes. For onely the space of two dayes continued their fashode & crueltie unreuenged. For that great & riche cite was all gyuen to haucke & murde vterly destroyed of the romayns: so that no creature escaped alyle to boost of their treason before committed agaynst the romains whome they had so trayterously slayne within their cite. Turpilius lytenant or captayne of the towne whiche (as I hanesayd before) escaped onely with his lyfe: was called befor Metellus and comaunded to answe[r]e for hymselfe by what way or meanes he escaped / whyther by treason done to the towne or by any other policy. But bycause he coude but simly excuse no[n] purghe hymselfe of that whiche was larey agaynst hym/ he first was scourged & beaten: and after that his heed stryken off from his sholders/ for that it was thought that if he had nat betrayed the cite he coude nat have escaped more than any other. Furthermore that great destruction of the romains was ascribed to his negligēce or treason. If this Turpilius had ben a romayn he shulde nat haue put to deth. For the lawe of Porcius prohibited any citize[n]e of Rome to be slayne: but if they comyted any great offence/ the extreme punishment by the lawe was to comyt them to cryle. But this Turpilius introyd nat the p[ro]tivleges of this lawe: for almoche as he was no citize[n]e of Rome / but an Italyan of the towne of Collace.

Chowe Bomylchar conspyred treason agaynst Jugurth and by what meanes this treason was discouered and Bomylchar with certayne other put to deth for the same. C The.xlii.chap.



¶At the same tyme Bomylchar (by whose counsell and moyson Jugurth before had begon the cōp[ar]isyon with Metellus/ which he omitted and brake agayn for feare) was couersant with Jugurth/ whiche alwyell suspected this Bomylchar of treason. Wherefore he suspectyng hym agayne ymagined newe policy agaynst Jugurth dayly lekyng & deuypling some gyle

Some gyle to his dystraction and deth / so that in dyuerse des-  
uples there about his mynde wandred and was weryed both  
day & nyght. But whan he had assayed many wayes and that  
nothing came to purpose: he adioyned vnto hym an other co-  
panyon named Nabdalsa / a noble man eralde & enhaunced  
with great rychesse: and moche beloued of his comente and  
people of whome he had rule. This Nabdalsa was so well  
beloued with Jugurth / that often tymes he comyted to hym  
an armee & power by hymselfe to execute all other thyngs / whi-  
ch he longed to meane besynesse whyle Jugurth hymselfe was  
weryed or lette with other gretter thynges: wherby the sayd  
Nabdalsa had optayned great honour & gathered great ry-  
chesse. Thus at conclusion: by apoyntment & counsell bothe of  
Bomilchar & of Nabdalsa a day was prefixed betwene them  
to execute their treason agaynst Jugurth. And in the meane  
tyme they purped euery thyng to that purpose as the matter  
and casse requyred. This apoyntment mader: they bothe depar-  
ted in sonder. Nabdalsa went to the armee whiche Jugurth  
had comyted to hym for to tary with the same nere to those  
places where the comayns wyntred: to thintent that if the co-  
mayns wasted or destroyed the countrey. Nabdalsa with his  
copany shulde other prohibet them: or els so dystourbe them  
that they shulde nat escape btreuenged. But whan the tyme  
apoynted drewe nere: than was Nabdalsa so abashed for the  
gretnesse of the dede that he mette nat with Bomilchar at the  
day & tyme assinged. This his great feare letted all the mater.  
But whā Bomilchar was thus disapoynted of his partyng  
felowe he was greatly abashed: neverthelesse his mynde  
was moch desyrous to perfourme his enterprise. But agayne  
he was doutfull for this cowardouse fere of his copanyon: lest  
he wolde omittetheir first apoyntment and counsell / and be-  
gyn some other newe apoyntment. Wherfore he set letters vns  
to hym by trusly frendes / and partyners of the same treason.  
In which letters he sharply blamed the pacynce / delayeng/  
and cowardysse of Nabdalsa / and vnsablennesse of his mynde  
obtestynge and callyng vnto wytnes the goddes by whome he  
had sworne to pfourme the sayd treason. Moreouer he war-  
ned hym that he sholde nat tourne to their dystraction and co-  
fusyon: the great rewardes whiche they bothe myght haue of  
Metellus. Which thyng truly shuld fortynce if Metellus hym  
selfe shulde bring Jugurth into captiuyte. Fartermore Bo-  
milchar in the same letters gaue monicion to Nabdalsa that  
thende of Jugurth was nere come: and that it was nat possy-  
ble that he might long contynewe all thynges cosydred. But  
than was the mater in hande wherther he shulde be destroyed  
Jugurth.

hominem nobilem ma-  
gnis opibus clarum ac-  
ceptumque popularib⁹ suis.

Is plerūque seorsum ab  
rege exercitum ductare:  
et oēs res exequi solitus  
erat: quæ Jugurthæ felio  
aut majorib⁹ astricto sus-  
perant: ex quo illi gloria  
opesque inuente.  
Igitur utriusq⁹ consilio  
dies insidijs statuitur.

Cætera vti res posceret  
pro tempore parari pla-  
cuit. Nabdalsa ad exer-  
citum protectus est quem  
inter hiberna romanorū  
iulus haberet ne ager in  
vitis hostibus vastaret.

Is postq⁹ magnitudine fa-  
citoris perculsus ad r̄p⁹  
non venit metusq⁹ res im-  
pediebat. Bomilchar si-  
mul cupidus incœpta pas-  
trandi et timore loc:jan-  
xius: ne omilio veteri cō-  
silio nouum quereret li-  
teras ad eum phomines  
fideles mittit i quis mol-  
licie secordiamq⁹ virti ac-  
cusare: et testari deos per  
quos iurasset monete ne  
præmia Metelli in pesto  
conuerteret: jugurthæ ex-  
itum adesse: cæterum iua-  
ne an Metelli virtute pe-  
nit: id modo agitari,

## The batayle.

Proinde reputaret animo suo premia an cruciatum mallet:

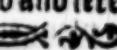
sed cum literæ allatae fuisse: sorte Nabdalsa exercitato corpore fessus in lecto quiescebat. Vbi cognitis Bomilcharis verbis prio cura: deinde vti ægrum animum solet: sōnus coepit.

Erat ei numida quidam negotiorū curator fidus acceptusq; et oīm consiliorū nisi nouissimi particeps. Qui postq; allatas literas audiuit et ex consuetudine ratus opa aut ingenio suo opus esse: tabernaculū introiuit. Dorsiniente illo ep̄lam super caput in puluino temere positam sumit ac plegit. Deinde propere cognitis insidias ad regem pergit Nabdalsa post paulo exp̄ctus vbi neque ep̄lam repperit et rem oīm vt: a ea erat ex plugis cognovit: primo indicem persequi conatus est post q; id frustra fuit: Jugurham placandi gratia accedit: dicit quæ ipse facere patruisset pfidia cliētis sui præuenta: lacrimans obtestatur p amicitia perq; sua ante fideliter acta ne super tali scelere suspicatum se haberet.

Adearex aliter q; animo gerebat placide respōdit

by them or els by Metellus. Wherfore he exhorted hym self to consyder in mynde whyther he had leuer betray hym/and therby optayne great fauour and rewardes: or els to leaue ck tyll Metellus ouercame hym: and than to be put to deth also with hym.

These exhortacions with other lyke were contayned in the letters of Bomilchar dyrected vnto Nabdalsa. But whan these letters were delyuert: as thagine was: Nabdalsa lay on his bed to recrate and refresh the his body wryed with labouer and blesynesse/ which he had taken before. Whan Nabdalsa had red these letters and vnderstode the mynde of Bomilchar: first many deuyles entred his mynde and moch curte he had in misyng what was moost expedient to be done in the cause. But whyle he was in this study: sodenly he fell in a slombre and his very membris desyring rest moued hym to fall in slepe. This Nabdalsa had a servant longyng to hym whome he moche loued and trusted: in somoche that no blesynesse nor couzell he hydd nor kept secret from hym: this counsell of betrayng of Jugurth onely except. Whan this servant vnderstode that the sayd letters were brought to his lordhe thought that he had nede of his counsell as he was wont and accustomed to haue in other maters: and anone entred in to the tent where his master lay. And seyng hym fast in slepe he toke the letters whiche Nabdalsa had vnewysly layd aboue his heed vpon the pyllow: and seyng by the superscription that the letter came from Bomilchar he redd it to thende. But whan he vnderstode the treason: in all hast he addressed hym with the same letter to Jugurth. Nabdalsa nat longe after awakenyd and myssed the letter/ wherfore anone he enquiered who had ben there in his tent. But in short season came dyuers of his louers from Jugurth/ which certifyped hym of all the mater as it was done. Nabdalsa first of all intended to pursue his accuser: but whan he perceyued that it was but in baynes to do/consydering that he was all ready in the company of Jugurth: he went vnto Jugurth hymselfe to thintent to pacify and myttigate his displeasure & wrath. And sayd vnto hym that whan the sayd letters were first delyuert vnto hym he had fully purposed nat to kepe them secret: but hymselfe to haue disclosed them to Jugurth. But whyle he was sleypyngh his false servant (in hope to be aduansed therby) had preuented hym his purpose & done the same thyng which he himselfe had fully purposed to do. Farthermore weyng he besought & required hym for all ampte and loue whiche had ben byt wene them & for all the faythfull seruice whiche he had done to hym in fozymenat to haue hym suspected in so cruell a dede. Jus-

gurth answered to these requestes of Abdallasa myldly & so  
berly lest any gretter variance myght ryse therof: but moche  
contrary to the disposition of his myn. For he thought other-  
wyse than he answered: howebeit he had well restrayned and  
alayed his wrath before w<sup>t</sup> the deth of Bomilchar & of many  
other whome he knewe first deuisours & partynge felowes of  
that treason whome he had caused to be put to deth before the  
comyng of Abdallasa: lest some batayle or other insurrection  
shuld haue pceded of y besynesse if they had lyued any lenger.  
From this day forwarde Jugurth was neuert quyet day  
nor nyght: so that he trusted nother place / nother man / nor  
tyme: but suspected & mistrusted euery thyng. His ennemis  
and his owne subgettes he dreded and suspected both in lyke  
& after one maner. He searched & espyed euery place for drede  
of treason doutyng & suspectyng euery sound or noyse that he  
herde. He rested and lay some nyght in one place and some  
nyght in an other / and that in abiect & secrete places agaynst  
the honoure of his estate royall. Somtyme he rose from his  
bed in his slepe in myddes of the nyght and armed hymself  
cryng/entragyng / and biently fmyting agaynst the walles  
of the chambre: as if he had ben to batayle. So that for the  
great drede of treason whiche he had he toke no rest nother  
slepyng nor wakyng: but was violently bered and fered lyke  
a mad man without reason or discretion. 

**C**how Metellus renued the warre agaynst Ju-  
gurth: and howe Maciis was creat consull and  
assigned to execute the warre of Numidie at plea-  
sute of the comens agaynst the wyll of all the no-  
ble men of Rome.      **C**The. xlvi. chapyter.

**M**an Metellus by such as fled betwene  
the two parties vnderstode of the chance of Bo-  
milchar and of this treason disclosed / he began  
than agayne to contende w<sup>t</sup> Jugurth: vnb<sup>t</sup> open  
warre and thereto hasted all thyng necessary and  
expedient. And consideryng that Maciis was continually cry-  
eng on hym for the sayd licence and congy to depart to Rome  
and also greuous/hatefull / and contrary to hym: aduy syng  
hym nat moche necessary but lytell mete & lo sharpe a besynes.  
And seyng hym yll wylling to every thyng he graunted hym  
lycēce at last: to departe towardi Rome as he before had often  
tequyzed and demaunded by petition. 

Jugurth.

B. ii.

Bomilchar interfacto/a-  
lijsque multis quos soci-  
os insidiarum cognouit/  
tram oppreserat: ne qua  
sedatio aut bellum ex eo  
negotio oriretur.

Neque post id Jugurtha  
dies aut nox vlla quieta  
fuit: neq; loco neque mor-  
tali curia aut tempore fa-  
ti credere. Ciues hostes  
que iuxta metuere circu-  
spectare oia et omnistre-  
pitu pauescere: atq; atq;  
alio loco sepe cōtra dec'  
regū noctu requiescere;

interdum somno exitus  
arreptis armis tumultu  
facere: ita formidie qua-  
si recordia agitari.

**I**gitur Metellus Vbi de  
casu Bomilcharis / et in  
ditio patefacto ex per-  
fugia cognouit / rursus tā  
had integrū bellum cuno-  
cta parat festinatq; Maris  
um fatigantem de profe-  
ctione simul et iniuriam  
et offensum sibi parū do-  
neū rat: domū dimittit.

## The batayle

Hæc Rome plebs/literis  
quæ de Metello et Mario  
missæ erant cognitis, vo-  
lenti animo de ambobus  
aceperat, imperatori no-  
bilitas, quæ anteā dècori  
suit inuidie esse. At illi  
alteri genis huius fa-  
vorem addiderat.

Cæterum in utroq; ma-  
gis studia partium qmala  
aut bona sua moderata  
sunt.

Præterea seditio si magis  
status vulgum exagita-  
re. Metellū omnibus con-  
cionib⁹ capris arcessere.  
Marij virtutem in mai-  
celebrare.

Denique plebs sic est ac-  
censa vti opifices aggres-  
sesque omnes: quorum  
res fidesque in manibus  
site erant relictis operis  
frequentarent Mariū: et  
vt sua necessaria post il-  
lius honorem/ducerent.

Ita perculsa nobilitate  
post multas tempestates  
nouo homini consulatus  
mandaverat.

Et postea populus a Tri-  
buno plebis Lucio Man-  
lio mancino rogatus/quæ

But as I haue sayd longe before / the letters whiche were  
sende to Rome to the cōmens by faourers of Marius were  
well accepted. For whan the cōmentie had ouersene them and  
by them vnderstode the praysyng of Marius / & the dispays-  
syng of Metellus. They were all inclined vittery to the auau-  
cement of Marius & detraction of the other. The noblenes of  
Metellus the capitayne whiche was before to his great wox-  
shyp & honour tourned nowe to enuy & hatred agaynst hym.  
But the lownes & vnnoblenes of Marius encreased to hym  
faouour specially of the cōmentie which were come of vnnoble  
blode/as he was. But the diligence & faouour of both the par-  
ties (that is to say of the states whiche helde with Metellus: &  
of the cōmens that helde with Marius) dyd measure & gyde  
euery thyng rather than the good or yll disposicions of the  
two aduersaries Metellus or Marius. For the commens so  
dy for it / concluded to exalte Marius. And the estates in the  
same maner laboured to kepe hym vnder bycause he was vno-  
noble borne/and to exalte none sauē them whiche were come of  
noble progeny. Farthermore the maisters and heed officers  
of the cōmentie which loued debate at euery assemble and cos-  
gregacion of the cōmens soze blamed Metellus and despised  
his dedes desyng of the cōmens that Metellus might be put  
to the pupylshe of his heed/ saying that he was so worthy: for  
that he plonged the way to Numidy agaynst Jugurth mos-  
te than nede was. But in dispisyng and accusyng Metellus  
they forsgat nat to cōmende Marius/and exalt hym with wox-  
des somwhat to moche: and more than he was worthy in mas-  
ny poyntes. In somoche that the people were so greatly ency-  
ped to hym with their faouour: that all the crafty men and la-  
bourers of the cite: and also of the countrey whiche had no ly-  
uyng sauē in the labour of their handes left their warke and  
bysynesse and folowed Marius frequentyng and resortyng  
to his company. And sette more by his auauncement and ho-  
nour than by their owne profet or aduaantage/trustyng that  
after ys he optayned the sayd honoure: they shulde haue their  
lyuenge by hym. And thus shortly to specke the estates and no-  
ble men of Rome beyng soze astonyed / the consulshyp was  
comyted to Marius a newe gentylmen whose predecessor  
before hym to such dignite coude neuer attayne & were coun-  
ted vnworthy. Thus that thyng whiche many yeres before  
that tyme coude neuer be done nor brought about: was nowe  
brought to effect: that is to say the consulshyp which was the  
most excellent dignite of Rome was nowe in handes of the  
commentie & comyted to a man of basse byrth. Shortly after  
this: the protectour of the commentie named Lucius Marius

enquyred & demaunded of the people whome it wolde please them to sende into Numidie to fynyshe the warre with Jugurth. The most part of the cōmentie answered that Marius shulde haue that office & besynesse: howbeit a lytell beforē that tyme the senatours had assigned by their ordinaunce the prouince of Numidie to Metellus for his worthy dedes: wherefore nowe this ordinaunce was frustate & boyde. For the cōmentie wolde haue their statutes executed & fulfylled.

**C**Of the seconde batell foughten byt wene Metellus and Jugurth: and howe Jugurth lost the batayle and also one of his chiefe townes named Thala.

**C**The. xlviij. chappyce.

**D**At the meane tyme whyle the interpr̄se of Marius proceded thus forwarde at Rome: Jugurth was sore troubled i his mynde for many consideracions. First he consydred the losse of many whome he repited for his frenedes till before he knewe their treason of whom he had many put to deth and many other had fled from hym for feare / come to the toymans / and other some to Bocchus kyng of the mautiens. He called also to his mynde that without ministers an men of warre he was nat able to execute the warre: and moze ouer he thought it leopardous after so great falshode and treason of his olde scendes to proue or assay the fidelite of newe. For these causes and mo lyke (as I haue sayd before) his mynde was driven to and fro / variable & incertayne in diuers opp̄ntions. Insomuch that there was no maner thynge / no couisell nor no maner man: that coude sufficiently satissfy nor please his mynde. He changed his tourneyes and wapes every day into sondry places for feare of treason. Somtyme he addressed hym towardē his ennemis: and anone after retourned into wodes & wyldernes. Often tymes he had trust & confidence in flyght: and anone after put his trust in armour & batayle. He douted whither he myght lesse trust to strength or trueth of his men which were with hym: so that what euer he purposed to do: or whither so euer he intended / every thynge was contrary to hym. But whyle Jugurth thus prolonged and taryed: sodenly Metellus with his army appered in his syght. Jugurth that parçeyuring: set in order and array his numidys as well as he might aske the short tyme whiche he had thereto. And immidiatly the armes approached: and the batayle began. In that part of the batayle where Jugurth hymselfe Jugurth.

B. iii.

vellet cum Jugurtha belum gerere: frequēs Matrum iussit. Sed senatus paulo ante Metello Numidiam prouinciam decreuerat: ea res frustra erat.

Odem tēpore Jugurtha amissis amicis quo  
rum plerosq; ipse ne-  
cauerat: cæteri formiditer  
pars ad romanos: alijs ad  
regem Bocchum profuge-  
rāt: quum neque bellum  
geri sine ministris pos-  
set: et nouorum fidem in  
tanta perfidia veterum  
experiri periculosem du-  
ceret: varius incertusq;  
agitabatur: neq; illi res:  
neque consilium: aut quis  
quā hominum satis pla-  
cebat: itinera / projectus  
que indies mutare: mo-  
do aduersus hostes: inter-  
dum solitudines perges-  
re: sepe in fuga / ac paulo  
post in armis spem habes-  
re: dubitare / virtuti an fi-  
dei populari minus cre-  
deret. Ita quocunq; intē-  
derat: res aduersa erant.

Sed inter eas moras re-  
pente sepe Metellus cum  
exercitu ostendit. Numidā ab Jugurtha pro tem-  
pore parati / instructique  
sunt. Deinde prælum ins-  
cipitur: qua in parte rex

## The batayle

pugnae et fuit: ibi aliquan-  
diu certatum est. Ceteri  
eius oes milites priu con-  
gressu pulsi fugatiq; sunt.  
Romani signos et armos-  
rū et aliquanto numero  
hostium paucorū positi  
sunt. Nam ferme numis-  
tas in oibus praelijs mas-  
gis pedes/q; arma tutati  
sunt. Ea fuga Jugurtha  
impēsium modo rebus su-  
is diffidēs/cū persigis et  
parte equitat⁹ insolitus  
dines: deinde Thalam pa-  
uenit: id oppidū magnū  
atq; opulentum: ibi pleri  
q; thesauri/filotumq; ei⁹  
multus pueritiae cultus  
erat. Quæ postq; Metell-  
lo comperta sunt/q; in-  
ter Thalam flumenq; pro-  
ximū in spatio milii qui  
quaginta loca arida atq;  
vasta esse cognoverat: nō  
spe patrandi bellissi eius  
oppidi potitus foret: ois  
asperitates superuadere/  
ac naturam etiam vince-  
re aggreditur. Igitur oia  
iumenta sarcinis leuari  
subet: nisi frumento die-  
rum decē. Ceterum utres  
modo et alia vasa aquæ  
idonea portari. Praterea  
cōquirit ex agris q; pluri-  
num potest domiti peco-  
tis: eōq; imponit vasa cu-  
susq; modi: sed pleraque  
ligneæ collecta ex tugue-  
ris nunuidarum. Ad hoc  
finitimus imperat: qui se  
post regis fugam Metell-  
lo dediderat: q; plurimū  
ut quisq; aquæ portaret.  
Diem locumq; vbi præsto  
fuerit prædictit. Ipse flu-  
mine: quam proximā op-  
pido aquam esse supra di-  
ximus: iumenta onerat.  
Eo mō instructus ad Tha-  
lam proficitur. Dein-  
de vbi ad id loci ventum

was: they stroue and resisted a lytell space: but all the other  
numidens at the first brunt/concourse or assault were put to  
flyght with violence/and druen backwarde. The romayns  
toke some of their standerdes and armour/which they fleyng  
away left behynde them: but of their ennemis they toke but  
fewe. For the Numidens in that batayle and almoost in all  
other defended themselves better with their fete: thā with their  
handes or armoure. Jugurth at this tyme: mystrusted his  
cale moche more than at any other tyme euer before / for the  
cowardous withdrawyng of his people. Wherfore he acōpas-  
nyed hymselfe with the romayns which had forsaken and be-  
trayed Metellus/ & fled to hym. With them/ and with a part  
of his horsmen he fled into the wyldernes therby: and from  
thens vnto a towne named Thala/ which was a great towne  
& a riche: and moch of his treasour & of the aparel longyng  
to the yongth of his yong chyldyn was in the same towne.  
But whan Metellus vnderstode that Jugurth was fled to  
so ryche a towne/howbeit he knewe that bytwene the towne  
and the next flosd thereto was .l. myle space of dry groud boyde  
& without habitacion: neuerthelesse he toke in hande to ouer-  
come all sharppnesse and difficultie of places: and also to ouer-  
come nature/though it seemed impossible to mannes mynde.  
This thynge Metellus toke in hande in hope to synisse the  
batayle moche soner yf he myght wynne that towne. ☩  
Wherfore he cōmaunded that all the beestes whiche serued  
for cariage/ shulde be unladen of all suche baggage and bur-  
thens as they carted longyng to the loundyours: saue onely  
whete and vitayle for the space of. x. dayes. Also he cōmaunded  
some of the beestes to be laded with bottels full of water/ and  
other vessels mete to be carted with water. Moreouer: ouer  
all the contray he gathered togyder as many tame beestes as  
he coude get and them laded with empty vessels of euery sort.  
Many of them were treen vessell whiche he had done to be ga-  
thered among the villages of the Numidens. Furthermore  
he cōmaunded thinhabitantes of those marches whiche after  
the flight of Jugurth had yelded them to hym that they shuld  
make them redy to folowe the hoost every man with as moche  
water as they myght beare. And assigned them a daye and  
place / where they shulde be redy vnder payne of dethe.  
Whan Metellus was come to the sayd flosd whiche was fyfty  
myle from the towne of Thala and nerest water thereto (as I  
haue sayd before) he dyd all the beestes to be laded of the sa-  
me water. And so went towarde Thala/his hoost set in order  
and array: so that yf any scopardy apered he was euer redy at  
desce/but afterwarde whan he was come to that place where

he had apoynted the numidens to mete hym with the water wherwith they were laved and folowed the hoost. And whan his tentes were pytched / sette / and defended about with trenches / cutte trees / bowes / and stakes after the policy of warre: sodenly from the heuen descended great violence and plenty of rayne water that it was more than suffisently to all the armes as wel to men as beestes. Moreouer their vitels were more plenyfull than they trusted or loked afater. For the numidies whiche newly were yelde were somoche the moare seruisable and redy to myniste euery thyng necessary vnto the armes. And no manuell: for euery thyng is quycke at the begynning which often fadeth at the ende. But the soudours and men of warre: were more glad to occupy the rayne water for deuotion / than suche water whiche was brought vnto them in vessels by caryage. For they supposed that their goddes loued and fauoured them whiche in so drye a countrey / and insuche a chaunce sent to them so great plenty of water belyde prouision of ther capteyne. This thyng greatly consoled the myndes of them al: and incouraged them with boldnesse / strength / & diligence: to ouercome all difficultes whiche remayned. This confort kyndlyng their myndes: they spedde themselues so forwarde that on the next day aft they came vnto the towne of Thala: contrary vnto the opinion or knoledge of Jugurth. Thnhabitantes which thought themselves surely defended by the shapnesse and difficultie of the place / were sodenly abashed & astonyed for that great bwont and bwprouided case. Neuerthelesse they made prouision to batayle as quycckly as they myght by sufferance of the tyme. The romayns addres- sed them in the same maner. But the kynge Jugurth anone cast in his mynde that to Metellus was nothing bwprouided nor bwnable to be done: as he that by his craft / diligence / and polycie: had ouercome both wepen / armour / place / and tyme. And also nature it selfe: whiche ruleth other thynges longyng vnto men. Jugurth this aduysing & reuoluyng in his mynde fled priuely by nyght forth of the towne with his childdren and a great part of his treasour. So after this tyme he never ta- ryed in one place past the space of a daye or of one nyght say- nyng that he fled so from one place to an other bycause of his present besynesse: but the ryght cause of his remouyng was for that he feared treason whiche he thought best to auoyd and eschue by continuall chaungyng of places. For suche counsels oft treason can nat be taken without deliberacion and processe of tyme / and conueniens or oportunyte of places where punis- ces do the long so tourne and continue. .

But whan Metellus sawe that thnhabitantes were redy

est / quo namidas precepe- rat / et castra posita / munici- taq; sunt: tata repente ce- lo misa vis aqua dicitur / vt ea modo exercitus / fas- tis superq; foret.

Præterea comeatus spe- amplior: quia numide (si- cuti pleriq; faciunt) i no- ua ditione officia inten- derant:

Cæterum milites pro re- ligione pluia magis visi, Eaq; res multum animis eorum addidit.

Nam rati sunt se se dijs immortalibus curæ esse.

Deinde postero die contra opinionem Jugurthæ ad Thalam pueniunt. Oppri- dani qui se locoru asperi- tate munitos crediderat magna atq; insolita re pa- culis: nihil segnius bel- lum parare: idem nī fa- cere.

Sed rex nihil iam insectu Metello credens / quippe qui omnia tela: et arma: locos: tempora: denique naturam ipsa: cæteris im- peritanter industria vice- raticum liberis et magna parte pecuniae ex oppido noctu profugit. Neq; pos- stea villo in loco amplius vna die aut vna nocte mo- ratus simulabat se nego- ti gratia properare. Cæ- terum pruditionem time- bat / quam virare posse ces- leritate putabat. Nam talia consilia solent per otium ex opportunitate capi.

At Metellus ybi oppida-

## The batayle

nos prælio intētos simul  
oppidum et operibus et  
loco munitum videt: val-  
lo fossaq; mœnia circum-  
uenit.

Deinde subet duobus lo-  
cis ex copia maxime ido-  
neis vineas agere: super-  
q; eas aggerem iacere: et  
super aggerē impositis tur-  
rib; opus et adimisstrō  
eutari.

Contra hæc oppidanū se-  
stinare: parare: prorsus  
ab utrisq; nihil reliquum  
fieri: deniq; romani mul-  
to ante laore prælīq; q;  
fatigati post dies quadra-  
ginta q; eo ventū erat: op-  
pido modo potiti.  
Præda omnis a persugis  
corrupta est.

Hi postq; murū arietibus  
ferriti: resq; suas afflitas  
videntiautum aq; argen-  
tū et alia quæ prima di-  
cuntur domū regiam cō-  
portar: ibiq; vino et epu-  
lis grauati illaq; et do-  
mum et semet igni corrū-  
punt:

Et quas vias ab hostibus  
poenas metuerant eas ip-  
si volentes pendere.

to batayle/and also that the towne was strongly defended by  
the by craft of mannes handes and by nature of the place.  
Anone he compased about the towne on euery syde with p: o:  
founde dychesse / trenches / and herdels : of sharpe stakes the  
poynts upwarde to thentent that none of thinhabitantes  
shuld breke out noz escape by night/as Jugurth had done bes-  
foze: noz that no vitells shulde be conuayed into them/ wherby  
they myght the lengar resyst hym and indure the siege. After-  
wardes he comaundered scaffoldes to be made about the walles  
specially in such places as were moost conuenient: and pens-  
ties of shelles conioyned in maner of bynes to be driven to  
the walles vpon wheles. And aboue the sayd scaffoldes to be  
cast a hepe of grauell and stones: and toures of tymbre and  
bulwarkes set vpon them: and other lousyours he assigned  
to defende the warke/and them also that laboured therewpon.  
These scaffoldes/pentylles/and pauases: were made to thens-  
tent that vnder them the romayns might undermine the wals-  
les without great pattyll or damage. On the other syde the  
gatynson and inhabitantes hastily laboured to resyst the ro-  
mayns & to defende themselue and their towne manfully. So  
that on bothe parties was nothyng forgotten/ able to be done  
touchyng their defence. But brefely to speke the romayns wes-  
tyed with moch labourt and batayle. xl. dayes after they were  
cōthyder: at last wan the towne. But all the pray and riches  
of the towne was distroyed by them whiche were within the  
towne in gatynson: of the romayns / whiche had fled from  
Metellus to Jugurth: which specially had assigned them to  
defende the towne. These traytors whan they sawe the wals-  
les undermined & brused with diuerte ingens of batayle: and  
their fortune was brought to extremitie: and no socours nor  
hope remayned. Than they assembled & caried togidre all  
the treasour & riches of the towne as golde/syluer/with other  
precious ornamentes or jewelis into the palays of Jugurth/ &  
there spylled themselue with wyne and other delicate meates.  
And at cōclusion whan they were full saturate and ingorged:  
they sette fyre on the palays and wylfully brent and distroyed  
the richesse the palays/ and themselue withall. So that such  
punysshement as they dreded to suffre of their ennemis they  
voluntarily suffred the same with their owne hādes to auoyd  
the subiection and daunger of their ennemis: by desperate  
folly and presumptuous madnesse. 

Chow Metellus fortifid the cite of Leptis and  
at request of the embassadours of the same cytie

## of Jugurth.

sende thyder garnyson to defende the cyte agaynst Jugurth: and of the sytuacion of the same cyte & behauour of thihabytants therof. The xlvi. cha.

**A**t the same tyme whanne Thala was wonne of the romayns / embassado's cae fro a towne of Numidie named Leptis unto Metellus / reequyng hym to sende thyder locours of garnison & a capitayne to defende them from the oppression and intury of a certayne noble and debatefull man/ which was within that cyte named Amylchar whiche (as they sayd) continually laboured for newe changys excityng and moxyng the comen people to foriske the romayns agayne. In so moch that agaynst the sayd Amylchar no man was able to resist nor to preueyle: for he set noughe by comauideinent of their officers and rulers/ nor yet by the auncient lawes of their cite At conclusion these embassado's sayd to Metellus for a surete that except he graunted their petition that bothe their owne heische/ and also the frendes & louers of thempire whiche were within that cite shulde be in great danger and paryll.

**C**hese Leptitans at begynnyng of this warre of Jugurth reequyred frenshyppe with the romayns of Calphurnius of whome is made mencion in begynnyng of this hystorie. And after that they lende to Rome unto all the senatours requyryng the same amyte and peace to be conffirmed of them: whis the thyng was graunted to them gladly. Therfore from thensorth they euer contynued good and faythfull to the romayns: and worthely and substancialy dy'd euery thyng whiche was comauinded unto them by Calphurnius/ by Albinus or by Metellus. For this consyderacion they lyghtly optayned all their desyre of Metellus / whiche at their request sent forth with them unto the sayd towne of Leptis: foure cohotes of lombardes chosen out of all his army with whome he sent to be captayne ouer them a noble knyght of his army named Caius Annus/ whome he also assigned to be lyeutenant of the towne.

**S**i This towne of Leptis was buylded first of all by the Sidonians whiche (as we rede) fled from their owne countrey for discorde and variance whiche fell among their cities at home. Whiche Sidonians came in shypes into the coostes of Afrike: where at last they buylded this cite of Leptis/ whiche is situate byt wene two quickelandes of whome the cite hath his name.

Ed pariter cum capta  
Thala legati ex oppi-  
do Lepti ad Metellum  
venetiorates ut prae-  
dium praeiectumq[ue]o mit-  
teret;

Amilcharem quēdam ho-  
minem nobilem factiosū/  
nouts reb⁹ studere aduer-  
sum quem neq[ue] imperia  
magistratū neq[ue] leges va-  
lerent: ni id festinare in  
summo periculo suam fa-  
lutē et illos socios fore;

Nā leptitani iam inde a  
principio belli lugurthis-  
ni ad Bestiam consulems  
et postea romam milerat  
amicitiā societateq[ue] ro-  
gatū. Deinde vbi ea impa-  
trata fuere semp boni si-  
delesq[ue] manferet: et cūctā  
a Bestia Albino Metello  
q[ue] impata/gnauiter feces-  
rāt. Itaq[ue] ab impatore fa-  
cile quæ petebant adepti  
sunt. Emissæ sunt eo cō-  
hortes. Ligatum. iiii. et  
Caius Annus praefectus.

Id oppidū a sydonijs cō-  
ditum est: quos accepim⁹  
pro fugos cōb discordias  
ciuiles nauibus in eos lo-  
cos venisse. Caterum si-  
tū inter duas Syrites qui  
bus nomen ex te inditū.

## The batayle

Nam duo sunt sinus prope in extrema Africai i-  
pares magnitudine: pa-  
res natura: quorum loca  
proxima terre palta sunt.  
Cetera vti fors tulit al-  
ia in tempestate va-  
dosa. Nam ubi mare ma-  
gnum esse scuire ventis  
coepit: limum arenam: et  
saxa ingentia fluctus tra-  
hant ita facies locorum  
cum ventis squal mutat.

et

Igitur eius ciuitatis lin-  
gua modo conuersa con-  
picio numidarum. leges  
cultusq; pleraq; Sydoni-  
ca: quæ eo facilius reti-  
nebantq; procul ab impo-  
to regis etatem agebant.  
Inter illos et frequenter  
numidiam multi vasti  
loci sunt.

**S**ed quonia in has re-  
giones p Leptitanos-  
rum negotia venimus:  
non indignum videtur  
egregiu atq; mirabile fa-  
cinus duoru Carthaginē-  
sium memorare. Eam rem  
dicere locus admonuit.

Qua tēpestate carthagi-  
nēses plereq; Africā im-  
pitabant Cirenenes quo-  
q; magni atque opulentia  
fucte. Ager in medio are-  
nosus una specie: neq; flu-  
men neq; mons erat qui

**C**for about the extreme partes of Affrike be. si. breeches of the  
see nere togyder nat lyke of quantite: but lyke of nature. Of  
which two breeches those partes which be nerest unto the land  
at very profounde and depe with hys bankes of sande on eves-  
ty syde. But the other places nat nere unto the lande be som-  
tyme depe: somtyme shalowe after the dysposytion of the we-  
ther. For whan these see begynmeth in ragyng to be great and  
tempestuous by mouynge of the wynde than the waves of hys  
see draweth forth of the same places the slyme / grauell / and  
great stones: which in cawme wether were gathered togyder  
before in the same places. And thus the facyon / aspecte / and  
regarde of the same places is mutable and changed at every  
tempest and great wynde.

**C**The langage of the cite of Leptis is nowe chaunged from  
the langage of Sydoni into numidian langage / by mariagz  
of the numidiants. But their lawes / their apparel / and ma-  
nners ( for the most part ) styl foloweth the custome of sydonis  
which they metayned & kept styl: somothe the moze easely: by  
cause they dwelled seperat in the extreme and beter partes of  
the countrey farre from the court & frequentation of kynges  
of numidy. For bytwene this cyte of Leptis and the wele in-  
habited partes of numidy be many places deserte and wyde  
wyldernes bnhabyted for dures of the contrey.

**C**The discripcyon of that place of Affrike which  
is named the Phelen auters: and for what cause  
the sae place was first so named. The. xlvi.cha.



**B**ut for asmoche as by occasyon of  
this besynes of the cyte of Leptis and their  
embassadours / I haue made mencyon of  
their cyte and partly discrybed the slyuaci-  
on of hysame. Nowe me thynketh it thyng  
conuenient / and nat unworthy to recount  
an excellent and meruaylous dede done in  
the same coostes by two brethern borne of the cite of Cartha-  
ge and namely bycause the place is called the Phylene auters  
me thynketh it requisite to declare the cause of that denomis-  
nation. For this place of our hystorieso requireth.

**C**What tym the Carthaginēses had in possession and were  
lordes ouer the moost part of Affrike: at the same season the  
Cirenenes also were great and famous of name: and abun-  
dant of welch and richesse. Than betwene the coostes of these  
two cities was a great & large felde all ouer spred with sande  
without diuisioun/particion/or difference. But bytwene them

was neyther fford nor mountayne whiche myght discerne the boundes & marches of bothe their coostes: which thynge causid continuall & longe warre often and great batayls byt wene both parties. But after that many armes on both sydes weyr overcome Slayne oþ put to flyght both by lande & by see and whan both peoples had somewhat wasted the one the other by spoylyng & murdere: than began they to perceyue their owne folys on both partes feryng lest some other nacion anone after shuld assapple them both the ouercomers and them that were overcome whan they were wasted & wryred with batayls and brought to extremite: Wherfore this cōsydred: they toke truys bytwene them bothe & to auoyed that long variance bytwene them: they made agreemet & cōuenant that messangers oþ embassadours of bothe parties shulde depart out of their cities at one certayne day and houre assigned. And that same place where the messangers of both the cities shulde mecte togyder: shulde be for euer after taken for the boundes and marches of the countrey of both the nacions & cities without more contention oþ variance. To bþyng this apoyntmet to effect & concluſyon forth of the cite of Cyren were chosen two for their part and sende forth at the day & houre apoynted. And in lykewyse out of Carthage were send two hysternes echs of them named Phylene which swyftly sped them in their journey. But the Cyrenenses went moch more slowly whether it so fortuned by negligēce or chaūche I knowe but lytell the trueth. But this is knownen for certayne that about those coostes tempeste of wynde & weder is wont to let men and plong their journay in lykewyse as vpon the see: and that for this cause. For whan by those euyn places wyde & bare wout any thing growynge on them: the wynde ryseth & styrzeth the small sande from the grounde: the same sande moued by great violence of the wynde is wont to fyll the faces / mouthes and eyen of such as passeth that way with dust & sande. And thus often by lettyng of their syght: their journay is plonged & hyndred. But after whan the Cyrenenses sawe themselves somwhat overslowe & late in their journay: they fered punysshement at their retournyng home for their negligēce. And blamynge they accused the Cartaginenses obiectyng & sayeng that they had come forth of their cite before the tyme assigned: and thus they troubled all the mater & brake the ordynance. But shortly to speke these Cirenenses cōcluded rather to suffre deth and to do any thynge possible than to retorne home agayn ouercōe. Wherfore the Cartaginenses desyred some other cōdicion oþ apoyntment to be made indifferēt & equall bytwene both the parties. The Cirenenses cōsentid thereto & put the Cartaginenses in choyse

f. 107v  
indubia

fines eorum discerneret.  
Quæ res eos i magno di-  
uturnoq; bello inter se ha-  
buit. Postq; vtrīmque legio-  
nes / Item classes s̄epe fu-  
st fugat̄ et alteri alte-  
ros aliq; tulū attruerant;  
veriti ne mox vi-  
ctoresq; decessos ali⁹ ag-  
grediretur p insidias / spo-  
sionem faciunt / vtī certo  
die legati domo proſicis-  
serentur: et quo in loco  
inter se obuij fuissent: is  
communis vtriusq; popu-  
li finis haberetur.

Igitur Cartaginæ duo  
fratres missi: quibus no-  
men Phulenis erat: matu-  
rauere iter pergere.

Cirenenses tardius ire: id  
secordia ne an casu acci-  
derit / parum cognoui.  
Ceterum solet in his lo-  
cis tēpus haud secus atq;  
in mari retinere hoies.  
Nam̄bi per loca equalia  
et nuda ḡgnentiū vent⁹  
coortus arenā humo  
excitat: ea magna vi agi-  
tata ora oculosq; imple-  
re solet. Ita ipedito pro-  
spectum morari iter. Postq;  
cirenenses aliquanto po-  
steriores se esse vident / et  
ob rem corruptam domi-  
pēnas metuunt / criminā-  
ti. Cartaginenses ante  
tēpus digressos, cōturbare  
répub. Deniq; oīa mal-  
le q; victi abire. Sed cum  
poni alia cōditionē tan-  
tumodo xquā peterent:  
Cirenenses optionē Carta-  
ginensis bus faciunt / ut

tepefas

## The batayle

vel illi quos fines popus  
lo suo quererentib[us] viui  
obructentur: Ne leadē cō  
ditione fese quē in locum  
vellēt processu[rum] dimit  
terēt. Phileni cōditione  
probata seq[ue]ntia vitā; suam  
reipu[rum] cōdonauerentia vi  
ui obruti sunt. Carthagis  
nenses in eo loco Phile  
nis fratribus aras conse  
ravere: alijq[ue] illis hono  
res domini instituti.

Nunc ad rem redeo.

Whynther they wold be quicke buryed in that same place whi  
che they desyred for their marches and bōudes: or els that the  
Citerenses vnder the same cōdicion shulde pcede forwarde  
to that place whiche they desyred for thet marches and ther  
to be quicke buryed vnder the same maner. ¶ The. ii. bretherne  
both named Phylene allowed and graunted the cōdicion sub  
dulyng & abandoning their bodyes to deth for the profet and  
wele of their contrey & cite of Carthage: and so were they bu  
ryed quicke. Wherfore the Carthaginenses in the same place  
where they were buryed rysled & halowed. ii. auters in woz  
shyp & remēbrance of these two brethern which set more by em  
cuse of their contrey: than by their owne lyues. These auters  
to this presēt day be called the Phylene auts after the name of  
the. ii. brethern named Phylenis therunder buryed i as sayd  
is for wele of their contrey: also belyde this memorial wi[n] the  
cite of Carthage were many other thing[es] ordayne[n]d to h[ave] gret  
honour of them & remembrance of their worthy dede. ¶ But  
nowe wyll I leaue this mater & returne to my purpose.

Chow Jugurth assembled a newe army of the  
rude getulians agaynst the romayns: and how  
he associated unto hym Bocchus kyng of the  
Mauriens to strengthe hym in batayle agaynst  
Metellus. ¶ The. xlviij. chapyter.

**I**ugurtha postq[ue] amisi  
sa Thala/nihil satis fir  
mum cōtra Metellū pu  
tat per magnas solitudi  
nes cum paucis profectus  
peruenit ad getulos: ge  
nus hoīm serum incultū  
q[ue]t eo tēpore ignarū no  
minis romani. eorū mul  
titudinem in vnum coe  
git ac paulatim cōsuetaz  
cit ordines habere: signa  
sequi: imperiū obseruare.  
Itē alia militaria facere.

**J**an Jugurth had lost the citie of Tha  
la/one of the strongest cities of his lande (as sayd  
is before) than he consydred well that in all his  
kyngdome was no place stronge ynough to re  
syst the myght of Metellus. Wherfore he hasted  
hym with a small cōpany through desertes and great wylder  
nesse fleyng from his owne contrey. And at last he came to the  
lande of Getulians whiche is a maner of people rude/wyldel  
& without order or maners: and at that season noug[ht] know  
yng of the preemynēt honour & fame of the romayne empire.  
Of this people Jugurth assembled a multitude togyder and  
by lytell & lytell enduced & taught them by custome and exer  
cise to folowe the order of chyualty: to kepe array / to insue  
their standarde/ to obey the comandementes of their capi  
tayns / to discerne and haue knowledge of the signifiacunce of  
soundes of trumpettes: and to obserue all other poynetes be  
longyng to warfare & chyualty. These chyng[es] with otherlike  
necessary to batayle/ Jugurth ceassed nat to prepare and or  
dayne with all diligence. . . . .

¶ M oreouer

## of Jugurth.

Moreover he prouoked unto his fauour and felowshyp by great rewardes & moch grater promises suche as were most nere frendes to Bocchus kyng of the maurens: by whose helpe he hymselfe went to the kyng Bocchus & moche desyred hym in his quarell with hym to warre agaynst the romayns. To this request of Jugurth Bocchus agreed somoch the more soz as moche as at first beynnyngge of the same warre: this Wde, thus sent unto Romē embassadours to desyre of the romayns ampte and a bonde of continual peace byt wene hym & them. But nat withstandyng that this petition & peace was moche expediet & necessary to the romayns for diuersle consideracions and namely bycause of this warre. Nat the lesse it was nat graunted by meane of a fewe such as at Rome blynded wō awarice: were wont to sell for money every thyng both honest and dishonest. Also befor this tyme the doughter of Jugurth was spoused to the sayed Bocchus. But this bonde of frendshyp or affinitie among the numidiēs & maurens: is reputed but of effect: bycause they ar wont every man to haue diuersle & many wyues acordyng to their substāce & richesse. Some. & and some mo: after as they ar of abylite or power to metayne. But the kyngs bycause they ar of most power & substāce: therfore haue they mo than an other. Thus is their mynde and fauour distract & diuersly deuyded from all their wyues for the multitude of the: and bycause they haue so many so that they reserue none for their speciall bedfelowe. Wherfore they all ar reputed byle & lytell set by: after one maner. Thus the affinitie bytwene these two kyngs Jugurth & Bocchus was lytell set by and small thyng auayled in this besynelle. Nat withstandinge both they & their hostes cāe togyder in a place apoynted thereto: where after that they had gyuen & taken fayth and truelthe one to other of fidelite / to be obserued byt wene them Jugurth greatly inhauced & lyfted by the mynde of Bocchus with his wordes sayeng that the romains were iustly groudēd in anarice without suffisance or measure. And comen enemis to euery man and to euery contrey: and that they had asmoch quarell agaynst Bocchus as agaynst hym. And one selfe cause to warre agaynst them both: and also agaynst many other nations/ whiche cause was but onely the pleasure of great lordshyp & riches. So that for the same cause all kyngs domes to the were aduers & contrary / and that he hymselfe to them was enmy for the same cause. And nat longe before that tyme the Cartaginēses: and afterward Perses kyng of Macedony were subdued & vndone by the romayns without any iust tytle or cause of batayle: saue onely ambition & envy whi che the romayns had agaynst them. And that in tyme to come

Jugurth.

L. i.

Præterea regis Bocchi proximus magnis munētibus et maioribus promissis ad studium sui pels licet quis adiutorib⁹ regem aggressus impellit vti aduers⁹ romanos bellum incipiat. Id ea gratia facilius proutusq⁹ fuit q Boccus in initio huiusc belli legatos romā miserat: sedus et amicitiam petiūt. Quam rom⁹ opportunissimā incep̄to bello pauci spedierant. ceci auaritia quis qia honesta atq⁹ in honesta vendere mos erat. Etiam antea Jugurtha sīlitā Bocco nupciat. Verum ea necessitudo apud numidas maurosq⁹ leuis datur: q singulis pro opibus quisq; q plurimas vxores: alijs denas alijs plures habeat. Sed reges eo amplius ita aim⁹ multitudine distrahit: nullam pro socia obtinet: patiter oēs viles sunt.

Igitur in locum ambobus placitum exercitus cōueniunt ibi fide data & accepta Jugurtha Bocchi a nūmō oratione accendit: romanos iūstos profūda auaritia: cōmunes om̄i hostes esse eandē causam illos bellū habere cū Bocco quā secum et cū alijs gētibus: libidinem imperandi.

Quis qia regna aduersa sunt tum seie: ante paucō carthaginēses. Item regē Persen. post vti quisq⁹ opulētissimus videatur: ita romanis hostē fore.

## The batayle

euery nacyon whiche shulde haue welth and richeesse shuld become ennemis to the romayns for their irodynat pride, & insatiable couetyse.

H<sup>e</sup>t atq[ue] alijs talibus ad Cirtham oppidum consti-  
tuunt q[ue] ibi Quintus Me-  
tellus predā captiuosq[ue] &  
impedimenta locauerat.

Ita Jugurtha ratus aut  
capta vebe operæ pretiū  
sore aut si romanus dux  
auxilio sui venisset p[ro]ces-  
sio sese certaturos.

Nō callidus id modo se-  
stinabar Bocchi pacem i  
minuere ne moras agita-  
do aliud q[ui] bella mallet,

With these wordes and otherlyke Jugurth moued the mynde of Bocchus agaynst the romayns. In somoche that anone a day was apoynted bytwene bothe the kynges to pro-  
cede forth togyder to the towne of Cyatha / and to assayle the same with both their powers coniorned. This towne they purposed first of all to besige:bycause Metellus had left with in the same towne his prayes and prisoners which he had ta-  
ken of Jugurth. And also moche of his owne ordynauice had he left there to a hōpde impedymēt in his voyage. Thus Jugurth thought most expedient to do. For if he myght wyn the towne by assaut before the rescous of Metellus: he thought that shuld be moost to his honour and profet. D[omi]n[us] elis o[ste]f the romayne capitayne Metellus / and his army shulde come to socours of the towne: than thought he that there both hymselfe and Bocchus shuld gyue batayle to Metellus. Jugurth for craft and subtylte hasted hereto somoche the mo-  
re to tangle Bocchus in the warre before any place shulde be moued bytwene hym & the romayns. And lest the same Boc-  
chus by prolōgynge of the tyme myght rather incline to peace than to warre after he at least shuld haue taken better coun-  
sel and aduisement. For Jugurth suspected at begynnyng  
that Metellus in processe of tyme wolde desyre this Bocchus nat to medyll in this warre assylyng the part of Jugurth no-  
mentayning his cause.

Chowē Metellus vsed hymselfe herynge th[er]at these two kynges were confederat agaynst hym and how after he was certifyed that the prouynce of Numidy was assigned to Marius the new consull: he cōsuled the warre for the nones.

## The xlviij.chapyter.

I Mperator postq[ue] de res-  
gum societate cognos-  
uit non remere: nec vti  
sepius victo Jugurtha co-  
sueuerat: oibus locis pu-  
gnandi copiam facit.  
Ceterum haud procul a  
Cirthacastris inunitis re-

**G**ianne Metellus knewe that the two kynges were associate togyder: he thought nat to syght with them easchely without proulyon: nor in every place for his aduantage or nat as he was wont to do often tymes before after the first tyme that he had overcome Jugurth. But within his feldes well and surely defended he kept hymselfe abydinge the com-  
panyng of the two kynges: and that nat farre from the towne

of Cirtha. This dyd he thynking it best to know the myghty maners/and condicions of the mauriens first or he wold fight with them bycause they were but newe enimies and therfore their maners unkownen to hym. And whan he sawe his best auantage than thought he to gyue them batayle. ¶ In the meane tyme whyle Metellus tarped the commynge of the two kynges: letters were brought vnto hym from Rome: which certifyed hym that the prouince of Numidie was compyted and gauen to Marius the newe consull. For he had herde longe before this tyme that the sayd Marius was elect consull: but this was the first tyme that he vnderstode the prouynce of Numidie committed to hym. For this cause was Metellus moued & displeased moch more than longed to measure or honesty. In somoch that he could neyther refrayne his eyen from wepyng nor measure his tong from spekyng yll by Metellus. This Metellus was a synguler noble and worthy man in all other condicions: but the displeasure of his mynde he toke ouer womanly & tendecly to his herte/and namely in this cause. Whiche condicione: some reputed to procede of a prouide herte of Metellus. And other some thought it no meruayle though his noble herte were moued and kyndled with anger/for this iniury and wrong done to hym. And many sayd that Metellus tokeso great sorowe and displeasure: bycause the victorie whiche he had almostt optayned shulde be pulled out of his handes his selfe hauyng the labout and payll/and another man the tcymphe and honour. But to be playne in the mater and indifferently to write: it was nat unkownen to the wyllest romayns / but that the dignite/auauncement/an honour of Marius greued Metellus: moch more than dyd his owne iniury. And that he wolde nat haue taken it so heuely if the prouince of Numidie which was taken from hym had ben gauen to any other noble men tha to Marius. Wherefore Metellus was let from his first besynesse for the sayd displeasure so that he purposed nat to vere hymselfe fro thenforth with out thanke or profet. And also he thought it foly to take in hande the charge of another mannes mater to his owne payll/labour/and Payne. Wherefore he send messangers to the kyng Bocchus/desiryngh hym nat to become enimy to the romayns without occasion. And sayeng that he was as yet insuche case that he myght adsoyne with the romayns felawshyp loue/and amytie: whiche shulde be moche better to hym & moze profitable than batayle. And howbeit he trusted greely in his power/richesse/and treasour: yet ought he nat to change certayne thynges/ for thynges incertayne. For euery batayle to beginn is easie and lyght: but it is ver' harde thyng to ende

Jugurth.

L. II.

ges operitur: melius esse ratus cognitis Mauris (quoniam is nouus hostis accelerat ex commodo pugnam facere.

Interim Roma per litteras certior fuit Mario praesidiam numidiam datam. Nam consulem factum iam antea accepit quibus rebus supra ac honestu personam: neque lacrimas tenere neque moderari luppenam ut egregius in alijs artibz nimis molliter aegritudinem pati.

Quam rem alij in superbiam verteabant: alij bonum ingenium contumeliam accensum esse.

Multi qd ia parta victoria ex manibus eriperetur. Nobis sat is cognitum est illum magis honore Marij qd iniuria sua excruciatum: neq; tam anxiaturum fusile si adempta prouincia alij qd Mario tradiceretur. Igitur eo dolore impeditus et quia stulticie videbatur alienam rem suo periculo curare: legatos ad Bocchum misit postulatum: ne sine causa hostis populi romani fieret: habere tu magnam copiam societatis amicitiae coniungendae: que potior bello esset: qd opibus suis consideret tam non debere certa propter iuris mutare. Omne Bellum sumi facile: ceteru agerem desinerem non in eius

## The batayle

dem potestate initium es-  
tus ac finem esse. incipes  
ze: cuius etiam ignau-  
licere deponi autem cum  
victores velint.

Proinde sibi regno con-  
suleret: neu florentes res  
suas cum Iugurtha per-  
ditis misceret.

Ad ea rex satis placide  
verba facit: sese pacē cu-  
pere. Sed Iugurtha for-  
tunam misereri.  
Si eadem illi copia fieret  
omnia conuentura.

Rursus imperator cōtra  
postulata Bocchi nuntiis  
os mittit: ille probare p-  
tim alia obnuere.

Eo modo sepe ab utroq  
missis remissis p- nuntiis  
tempus procedere: et ex  
Metelli voluntate bellū  
intactum trahi.

the same whan it is ones begon. The beginning and endyns-  
ge therof: is nat alway in the power of one same man. For  
warre may be begon of a coward or of any other wretch: but  
it can nat be left of agayne / nor ceassed but whan it pleaseth  
hem whiche is strongest/ and is maister hauyng the upper  
hande. And finally he had hym better to prouide for hymselfe  
and for his kyngdome than he began to do: and nat to adtoy-  
ne nor myngle his goodes/treasour / & fortune: which were in  
estate topall florishyng with the goodes and fortune of Ju-  
gurtha: which were lost and distroyed to the bitermost. The  
embassadours of Metellus came to kyng Bocchus & shewed  
hem their capitayns wyll: as is sayd before vnder liche sens-  
tence. To the whiche wordes of Metellus / Bocchus answe-  
red agayne benignly and mekeily knough sayng that he des-  
syzed nothyng more than peace: saue that he had ppte & com-  
passion of the aduers & miserable sorte of Jugurth / but if  
the same Jugurth myght be suffred also to haue frendshyp  
and amyte with the romayns & forgyuenesse: than sayd Boc-  
chus that he wolde gladly agre to every thynge desyzed of  
Metellus / and every thyngh l huld: be accorded bytwene them.  
The capitayne Metellus heryng this answere of Bocchus:  
agayne sent messangers to hym replyeng agaynst his requi-  
ses and sayenge that some of his petitions were agaynst iu-  
stice & reason: also Metellus by these embassadours desyzed  
many other thyngs of Bocchus / of whome Bocchus graun-  
ted & allowed some: and other somes of them he denyed. After  
this maner the tyme ouerpased and proceeded forth messan-  
gers often goyng and comynge bytwene them bothe: so that  
by liche maner the warre and batayle remayned vntouched  
and depended nat medled with: as Metellus dyd greatly cos-  
ueyt and desyre in mynde bycause he wolde kepe sure that lau-  
de whiche he had wonne: and also for that to his owne paryll &  
damage he wolde nat auantage nor auance Marius: in  
thynge whiche to hym belonged. . . . .  
But here wyll I leaue to speke of Metellus / and retourn  
to speke of Marius whiche contrary to the wyll of all the no-  
ble men of Rome was creat consull by fauour of the cōmens:  
lykewylc as I haue w̄itten before. . . . .

C Of the great ordynafice and preparacyon whi-  
che Marius the newe consull made agaynst  
Jugurtha and for the warre of Au-  
midy. C The. xlii.  
Chappyter.



Ut Marius (as I haue sayde before) was elect consull at great desyre and instance of the comen people: whiche also cōmytted to hym the prouince of Numidy. Marius seyng hym selfe thus auanced: where he was euer agaynst the noble men of Rome before/nowe was he specially fiers of mynde/and stately. And bely to displease and hurt thestates: some tyme one by one/and other whyle altogydere. He oftenty mes boosted & sayd that he had gotten the consulshyp of them maugre their wyll / as if it were a pray or spoylings gotten of his ennemis: and of men ouercome. Many other boostynge wordes spake he to his owne commendacion / and to great displeasure and anger vnto the estates of Rome. But in the meane tyme he forgat nat to prepare euery thyng necessary to the warre: wheroft the charge rested on hym to execute the same agaynst Jugurth from thenforth. He demauded of the senatours & comens newe supplement of soudyours to reparre and restoore the army which was in Numidy with Metellus. So many of them were slayne/and many deed of sickenesse: thus was the army so de minimis hed. He called also for soco's of such nations as marched to thempire. And of kyngs whiche were cōfederate and had contayned feloweshyp with the romayns. Moreouer he rayled vp in Italy and nere about Rome/ as many as were strongest & bolde mennes bodyes. And namely such as he hymselfe had proued before in warre: and such as in warfare were proued by dedes: and nat such as were boosted by fame. And namely olde soudyours which had longe haunted the warre and were pardoned therof. So that it was in the power of no man to cōstrayn them to warre without their owne fre assent: bycause that they had cōtinued styll in warre the season to them assigned of their captayns. These treated Marius with so fayre flatering and paynted wordes/that they were ready to go with hym in warfare. And howbeit that the senatours were contrary to hym: yet durst they nothyng deny vnto hym belongyng to his besynes: but gladly and with good wyll they decreed that he shulde rayle and chuse soudyours to fulfyll the nombre of them whiche wey lost in batayle in the contrey of Numidy. But this dyd they for no gret loue which they had to Marius: for they thought that he shuld lese outher the execucion of the batayle whiche he intended with Jugurth: or els the fauour of the people whiche wold refuse to go forth to warre. So that if Marius cōstrayned them:their olde loue myght tourne into newe malice and hatred agaynst hym. But this thyng was trusted but in bayne of the senatours: for the moost part of the comens had

Jugurth.

L.iii.

**A**T Marius (vt supra diximus) cupientis sima plebe consul factus/postq; ei prouincia Numidiā populus iussit: antea iā intestus nobilitati: tū vero multus & ferox instare. modo singulos: modo vniuersos ledere. Dicitare sese consulatum ex victis quasi illis spoli a cōpisse. alia p̄terea magnifica pro se et illis dolentia. Interim que bello opus erant prima habere: postulare legionibus supplementum: auxilia a populis et regibus sociisq; accersere.

Pr̄terea ex latio fortissimū quemq; plerosq; militia paucos fama/cognitos accire: et ambiendo cogere hoies emeritis stipendijs proficiisci: neque illi senatus, q̄q aduersus erat: de ullo negotio absuere audebat,

Ceterum supplementum etiam latus decreuerat: quia/neq; plebe militiam volente/putabatur Marius: aut belli usum/aue studia vulgi amissurus.

Sed ea res frusta sperata: tanta libido cum Mario eundi plerosq; inua-

## The batayle

serat: sese quisq; prada  
locupletem tote: victore  
domini redditurum: alia  
huiuscmodi ais attras  
hebant: et eos non paulu-  
lum oratione sua Mari-  
us arreverat. Nam postq;  
oibus decretis quae postu-  
lauerat: milites scribere  
vult hortandi causa/ si-  
mul: et nobilitatem (uti  
confueuerat) exagitandi  
concionem populi aduo-  
cauit. Deinde hoc modo  
dixerunt.

an inestimable desyre to go to batayle with Marius. For  
euery man cast in his mynde to be intriched by prayes & spop-  
lynges of warre. And that moxe is: to retourne home agayne  
victours wth moche honour and triumphe. These thynges  
and otherlyke: they consydred whiche caused them gladly to  
folowe Marius/ and also Marius dyd nat a lytell enbolde &  
confort their myndes with his exhortacion. For whan euery  
thyng which he desyred of the senatours was conffirmed and  
decreed by them. And whan Marius shuld assemble his sou-  
dyours: he thought to put them in confort by exhortacion/ and  
also to trouble & displease the states of Rome as he was wont  
to do: and to chafe their myndes. Wherefore he assembled and  
called togidet a great company of the commen people/ and  
spake to them by exhortacion and confortynge of them as  
herafter ensueth. . . . .

**C**The orison or exhortacion of the consull Mari-  
us: had to the comen people of Rome before his  
voyage into Numidy/ whiche exhortacion is de-  
monstratyue contaynyng the laude and prayse  
of Marius: and dyspraye and blames of the no-  
ble men of Rome. **C**The l.chapyter.

**S**cio ego Quirites ple-  
trosq; non ijsdem arti-  
bus imperiu a vobis  
petere: et postq; adepti sūt  
gerere. Primo industrios/  
sipplices / modicos esse:  
dehinc per ignauiam et  
supbias etatem agere.

Sed mihi contra videtur:  
Nam quo pluris vniuers-  
sa respu. est q; consulatus  
aut praetura: maiore cu-  
ra illam administrari q;  
haec peti debere.

Neq; me fallit: Itum cum  
maximo vestro beneficio  
negotii sustineam. Bellū  
parare simul et aerario ps-  
cere: cogere ad militiam  
eos quos nolis offendere:



**I**ght Worthy cytezins / I knowe  
well that many of these estates of auncient  
name haue nat themselfe behaued after one  
maner of codicion in desyring of you hono-  
rable dignities and great offices: and in  
administration and gouernynge of them  
after they haue optayned the same of you.  
For whyle they make their petitiones: at begynnyng they be  
dyligent/ securable/ meke/ and curtayse of behauoure. But  
whan they haue optayned their desyre: than passe they their  
tyme in slouth/ ydlenes/ and pride. But it semeth to me in my  
mynde that they ought to do moche contrarely. For of howe  
moch more valour the hole comen wayle is: than is the consul-  
shyp thoffice of the by iudge / or any other great office: with  
somoche moze diligence & charge shulde the hole comen wele  
be gouerned / than suche dignities or offices desyred of you.  
Nor I am nat ignorant but knowe right well how great the  
benefite is that ye haue gyuen to me: and howe great charge  
and besynesse thereto belogynge is layed vpon me withall: whi  
the besynes I nedes must sustayne. That is to say: to prepa-

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te and make ready an arm / withall other thynges necessary to batayle and to execute the same : & neuertheles to spare the comen treasour. To compell to warfare and batayle: such as a man wolde nat greue nor displease : that is you the comen tie of Rome : whome I wolde nat displease by any meanes. To take charge and care for every thyng within the cite and without. And to do such thynges among envious gentylmen obiectyng and layeng agaynst me in euery thyng whiche I go about/ as men full of discorde and variance. Worthy notable citizins among such men to take in hande such charges it is more harde and thyng of more difficultie than any man can thynke or deuyse. And moreouer: as for other cosuls whiche haue ben before my tyme / whan they haue done any thyng amysse: than their olde noblenesse/ the strong and balyant actes of their predecesso's / the riches & power of their frendes and kynsmen: and their many cluyentes and seruants of them retayned : all these haue suppozed and mentayned them in their myrchededes. But all my richesse and helpe / and trust of confort whiche I haue is in my selfe & nat in my kynsmen or other fauourers: which ayde of my selfe I must of necessite defende with my vertue/ strenght / and innocence. For all other thynges whiche these auncient noble men haue to defende them be vnsure to me for I haue them nat. Fartermore noble citizins this I understande that all ye haue good trust and confidence in me: and that all such as be equall / iust / and good: haue fauour vnto me. For I knowell that my good dedes hath profited the commen wayle. And neuerthelesse these noble men seke occasions agaynst me / inuadynge and assayling me with their malice and enuy. Wherfore it standeth me in hande of necessite to labour somoche the more besely and quickly: that neyther ye be disceyued in this great trust whiche ye haue in me: and also that all the purposes of myne wyllers & aduersaries / may be frustrate and nothyng auayle agaynst me. Forsooth I haue euer from my chyldhode vnto this age ben of suche behauour that I haue ben accustomed & exercysed in all maner labours and paryls: whiche I suffred and toke paciently for the comen wele without any rewarde before this your benefite and honour whiche ye haue now gyuen to me. Wherfore worthy citizins leving þþe haue now rewarded me better than I am worthy: I haue nat purposed to desyst nor leave of myne olde good wyll anent þþe comen wele: nor now I / rewarded of you purpose nat to ompt my good dedes which I dyd stely before vntrewarded. But to vs thyng these auncient gentylmen: it is very hard for the to temper themselfe beyng in power or dignite which onely dyd but

domi forisq; omnia cura  
re: et ea agere inter inuidos  
occursates factiosos:  
opinione quirites asper-  
tus est.

Ad-hoc alij si deliqueret:  
vetus nobilitas : maiorū  
fortia facta: cognatorum  
et affinium opes : multas  
clientelas: omnia praesidio  
adsunt.

Mihi spes omnes in mes-  
met sita: quas necesse est  
et virtute et innocentia  
tutari: nam alia infirma  
sunt. Et illud intelligo  
Quirites omnium ora i me  
conuersa esse: a quos bo-  
nosq; fauere: quippe mea  
benefacta reipu. proce-  
dunt: nobilitatem inua-  
dendi me querere locum.  
Quo mihi acris adnitens-  
dū est: vti nego vos capia-  
minet illi frustrati sit.

Ita ad hoc ætatis a puer-  
titia fui: vt omnes labo-  
res et pericula consueta  
habeam: que ante vestra  
beneficia gratuito facies-  
bam: ea vti accepta met-  
cede: deseram: non est con-  
silium Quirites.

Illi difficile est in potes-  
statibus tempore: qui per  
ambitionem iesc probos

## The batayle

simulauere. mihi qui omni-  
tem ætatem in optimis ar-  
tibus agi : benefacere iam  
ex consuetudine in natu-  
ram conuertitur.

Bellum gerere me cū Ius-  
gurtha iussistis/ quā rem  
nobilitas ægerime tulit.  
queso reputate cum anis-  
mis vestris; num id muta-  
xi melius sit: si quem ex  
illo globo nobilitatis ad  
hoc negotium: aut ad a-  
liud tale mittatis homi-  
nem veteris prosapiae: ac  
multarum imaginum; et  
nullius stipendijs: scilicet  
vt in tāta re ignarus om-  
niū trepidet: festinet: su-  
mat aliquē ex pplo mo-  
nitore sui officij: ita ple-  
rūque euenit: vt quē vos  
impare iussistis: is sibi im-  
peratore alium querat.

Atq; ego scio quirites/ q  
postq; cōsules facti sunt:  
acta maiorum/ et græcorum  
militaria præcepta lege  
re cœperunt/ hōes præpos-  
steri: nam gerere q fieri  
tempore posterius/ reſat  
que vſu prius est.

Comparate nunc Quiri-  
tes cum illorum superbis  
me hominem nouum.

fayne themſelſe good and honest before they optayned promo-  
cyon/ to thintent to come therby to honoure and dignite. But  
where as I haue paſſed all my lyfe in right good occupaciōn  
by continual custome it is roted in me to do well: & this custo-  
me is tourned with me into nature. Treuth it is: that ye haue  
cōmaunded me to warre agaynst Jugurth: whiche thyng  
these noble men taketh very greeuously. I reuiue you conſi-  
der and dyscuſ in your myndes and in your inwarde conſi-  
deracion/ ponder ye: whyther it be better/ moze necessary and  
expedient to change the ſame your commaundement agayne:  
and to ſende forth ſome other of that ſort of auncient gentil-  
men unto this besynelle agaynst Jugurth or els to any other  
lyke. ſend forth a noble man of olde auncetry: in honoure  
and remembrance of whome many ymages may be made &  
erect or ſet vp on hy. But of polycie of chyualry or warfare  
is he utterly ignorant and inexpert. Wyll ye change your pur-  
pose and ſende forth ſuche one to warfare at pleasure of these  
gentylmen/ as who ſayeth: that is best to be done for this cau-  
ſe. To thintent that in ſo great a mater and wighty besynelle:  
ſuche a captayne moze ignorant and ferfull than any of all  
his ſoudyours/ ſhalbe choſen of you whiche anone after ſhal  
chufe forth agayne ſome one of the commen people to be his  
maister: to informe and teche hym in ſuche besynelle as to his  
office and charge beſongeth: hymſelfe beyng ignorant of eu-  
ry thyng neceſſary to be done. By this meane it often fortu-  
neth: that he whome ye ordayne to be captayne and cōmaun-  
der of your army: dothe choſe an other to be captayne and  
commaunder ouer hymſelfe. In ſomoche that (if ye indiffe-  
rently iudge) he: whome ye choſe for capitayne is moch moze  
mete to be made a ſympyle ſoudyours/ than a capitaynt ouer  
other. And also worthy citizins: I knowe ſome of theſe noble  
men ſo farre out of order that whan they haue ben made con-  
ſuls: than haue they gyuen themſelue to redyng of the actes of  
their elders and predeceſſours. And of the grækes preceptes  
of chyualry: which doutleſſe may well be called men without  
order/ for this cōſideracion. For they ſhulde by due order firſt  
leue to rule their office before they ſhulde take vpon them the  
charge therof. But they do contrary. Firſt they take charge  
of office and than after leue to rule it by way iorinate: how  
beit every wylfeman wyll firſt leue to gonerie an office befo-  
re he deſpyre it or take vpon hym the rule therof. But theſe eſta-  
tes contarily demeane themſelue. Thus worthy citizins co-  
pare me a newe gentylman with their immoderate pride and  
take diligent conſideracion whiche is best: to be nat gentyll of  
þy whole body and lowly and gentyll of maners: or els to be gentyll of

blode/and prouide and vngentyll of maners. Of suche thynges as they be wont to here & to rede: some haue I seene / and some I my selfe haue done. I haue lerned that by exercyspe of chpualcie/whiche they haue lerned by redyng. Nowe iudge & cosyder ye: whypther is better of dedes or warkes: of redynge and doyng . They dispycce my neweltie of honour & vnnoble lynage:and I dispycce the vncraftynesse & slouth of them. My happy fortune is obiectet of them agaynst me as to rebuke: but shame and dishonest behauour/ may be obiectet & layed agaynst them in rebuke . Is it nat trueþ that every man is come of one lyke nature. I cosyder & knowe well that one man is nat better nor moxe noble than an other : but if it be by his wyldeome/good maners/bertu/and strength. And I cosyder well that every man the more that he is endued with vertue: the more excellē & noble is he. Thus is the strongest/wysest/ and moost vertuous/moost excellent in noblenesse.

**B**ut yf the fathers of Albinus/and of Calphurnius: late consuls and captayns in Numidþ/to the great dishonoure and damage of this empire/ were nowe lyueng that it myght be inquyzed of them whether they had leuer that I had bene begotten of them: or els the sayd Albinus and Calphurnius. What thynke ye they wold haue answeryd. Forsooth nougat els (as I suppose) but that they wolde despise and couet good chylðren and honorable lynage to procede of their stocke and generation. Thuslyth it is so:that these estates dispyleth me: reasonably and of ryght lette them also dispycce their owne predecessours and forefathers / of whose stocke and lynage they proceded: which came to noblenes and honour:nat by their auncetry : but by their owne strength / wyldeome / and vertue: lykewyse as I haue done. They haue enuy at this myne honour. Than lette them also haue enuy at my labours taken for defence of the comen wayle: let them enuy myne innocēce and great peryls/ which I haue ouercome. For by these meanes I haue obtained & also shall mentayne this honour which they so greatly enuy. But these men corrupt by pride: after ye haue promoted them to worshyp:so pas forth their ty me as yf they sette nougat by your offices and honours by you optayned:but bitterly despised them. Thus they despise such dignitie of duety: as if they were worthy and deserued to haue them by their honest lyueng and vertuous conuersation. But certaynly they be greatly disceyued whiche loketh after two thynges contrary bothe togyder & at one season. So do these noble men. For they wold haue the voluptuous pleasure of slouth & ydelnesse/ and the rewardes due unto vertue and laborious diligencie. But whan these gentylmen bittre

Quæ illi audire et legere solent: eorum partem vidi: alia agomet gessi: q̄ illi litteris/ego ea milita do didici: nunc vos existimate facta an dicta plus ris sint. Contemnunt nos uitatem meam: ego illos signauiam: mihi fortuna: illis probra obiectantur: q̄q̄ ego naturam vnam et communem oīm existimos sed fortissimum quemq̄ generosissimum esse,

At si iam ex patribus Albinis aut Bestiæ quieti posset: me ne/an illos ex se digni maluerint: quid responsarios creditis: nisi sese liberos q̄ optimos voluisse?

Q̄ si iure despiciunt me: faciant idem maioribus suis: quibus ut mihi ex virtute nobilitas cœpit.

Inuident honori meo: ergo inuidant labore: & in innocentia: periculis etiā meis: quoniam p̄ hæc illū honorem cœpi. Verū corrupti holes superbia/ita statem agūt: quā si vestros honores contemnant: ita hos petunt: quā si honeste vixerint.

Nē illi falsa sunt: qui diuersissimas res pariter expectant: signauit voluntatem/et præmia virtutis. Atque etiam cum apud vos aut i senatu verba faciunt: pleraq; orati-

## The batayle

one maioros suos extol-  
lunt; eorum fortia facta  
memorando clariiores es-  
se putant: quod contra est.  
Nam quanto vita eorum  
praeclarior: tanto horum  
secordia flagitiosior. Et  
profecto ita se res haberet.  
Maiorū gloria quasi po-  
steris lumen est: neq; bo-  
na neque mala eorum in  
occulto patitur.

Huiuscce rei ego iopiam  
patior quiritates. Verū id  
quod multo preclarior est:  
meamet facta mihi dice-  
re licet. Nūc videte q̄ in  
īqui sunt: quod ex aliena  
virtute sibi arrogant; id  
mihi ex mea non conce-  
dūt; scilicet q̄ imagines  
non habeo: et quia mihi  
noua nobilitas est: quam  
certe peperisse melius est:  
q̄ acceptam corrupisse.

Evidem non ignorō: si  
iam respondere velint; a  
bunde illis facundam et  
compositam orationem  
fore. Sed in maximo ves-  
tro beneficio cum oībus  
locis me vosq; maledictis;  
lacerent; non placuit re-  
ticere: ne quis modestia  
in conscientiam duceret.

Nam me evidem ex ani-  
mi sententia nulla orati-  
o laderet pōt: quippe ves-

their wordes before you or speke before the senatours: than in  
the moost part of their speche they exalt and commende their  
auncetry wenyng to be couēte moze noble and excellent by re-  
countynge and reducyng to remembrance the baltant dedes  
of their progenitours. But it is nothyng so. For how moche  
moze excellent the fame & honour of their progenitour was:  
somoch moze shamefull and reprovable is this cowarde ydel-  
nesse of these gentylmen nowe lyueyng whiche so farre go out  
of kynde from the honorable conuerstacion of their progeny-  
tors: as if they had never dyscended of them. And verely  
this is certayne: the glorioys dedes and honorabile of foze-  
thers be lyke an example or luminary vnto their offpringe or  
progeny. So that the same lyght suffreth neyther the good de-  
des nor bad of their progeny to be hid. For yf the progeny ba-  
tie from the glorioys actes of their progenitours than the ho-  
nor of both is distayned: but if they folowe them in vertues  
than the lyght and glorie of the progenitours shynneth moze  
radiantly by vertue of their progeny. Of this laude and ho-  
nor of my progeny I can nat boost me for they were but of  
base degré. Their dedes can nat auaice me nor make me no-  
ble. But it is lawfull to me to speke of myne owne dedes whis-  
the laude is moze cleare and excellent than to boost of  
other mennes actes. But nowe cosyder ye how vnyghtlyse  
these gentylmen be to me: they wþll nat graunt me that laude  
and honoure by myne owne vertue and actes: whiche they  
þsurpe and proudlyse take vpon them: by vertue and dedes of  
other men. And wherfore thynke ye do they this? Planely I  
suppose bycause I haue no ymages of my progenitours ex-  
alted in remembrance of them as these gentylmen haue: and  
bycause my noblenesse is but newe and springyng. But theies  
is auncient and by their dysorder decayinge. But certenly I  
couete it moze better and honorabile to be rare and begynnet  
of noblenesse vnto all my progeny and to leue the same vnto  
my branches: than to corrupt and defele noblenesse receyued  
of my progeny: as many of these gentylmen do. Forsoth I  
am nat ignorant but that yf these estates were nowe present  
shulde answere to my wordes their speche shuld be abundātly  
paynted/ornate/and elegant ynough. But syth they cease nat  
to blame and reule with their lewde wordes in every place  
both you and me for this your great office whiche ye haue gy-  
uen vnto me: it hath nat pleased me to be styll noz to kepe se-  
crete their fautes: lest some myght count culpable and  
woxhy their rebukes: by reason of myne indiscrete pacien-  
ce and spylence. Neuerthelesse sohelpe their wordes can nat  
greue noz hurt me: after the conscence of myne owne mynde.

## of Jugurth.

For if they say truthe they can nought say but good and woorshyp by me: but if they wyll nedes ly on me my maners / my hyuyng / and couerlacion is suche that I shall ouercome their wordes & proue their iust accusementes fayned and false. But sych your counsell is blamed of these noble men bycause ye haue cōmpted to me this great honoure & gretter besynesse: cōsyder ye in your myndes diligently & often whyther ye shall nede to repente you of this dede or nat. To say truthe I can nat boost my selfe of the ymagis of my pgenito's noz I can nat recouē bnto you the triumphes or cōsilchyps of myne auncettry. But if the mater requyred: I coude well shewe vnto you speres / slanderdes / horse / trappers / harnessle: with many other rewardes of chyualry: some gryuen to me of thempes rout / and some of other captayns for myne actes in batayle. And other some which with myne hand I haue won of thens enemies of the empire. I coude also if it neded shewe you in the fore part of my body manyfolde scarres of many & large wondes whiche I haue taken in good worsh for detence of our countrey and comen wele. These be my ymagis whiche I canshemē. This is my noblenes: nat leste to me by heritage (as theirs is to them) but noblenes whiche I haue won & gotten with great & soze labours of my body & paryll of my lyfe. My wordes be nat ordred in ornat langage noz my speech paynted with rethorike lyke theirs for I set lytell therby. My vertue sheweth it selfe playnelye ynough without glosed or paynted wordes. But these noble men must of necessite haue craft for to couer their shamefull and vngoodly dedes / with this eloquent wordes / their crafty & rethorike speche. Noz as for me: I never lerned the greke letters noz langage / whiche thyng these estates obiect agaynst me: as a great faut. But to be playne: my pleasure was never moche to lerne such thynges / which haue lytell awayled vnto the techeres or lerners of the same / neyther to acquisition of vertue noz expulson of vice. But I haue lerned & am taught in other thyngs moch better / & more profitable to the comen wele: as to assayle & stryke myne ennemis: to dispoole their ordynace & vitayls: to chase their garnyson. Nothing to dzedre noz feare saue an yll name: to endure & take in good worsh the pleasure of the somer & the hardenes of the wynter both in lyke: to ly vpon the grounde: to endure hunger & labourt bothe togyder. Therfore I shall exhort & informe my lousyours with these preceptes: whiche I my selfe haue lerned / vsed & assayed. Noz I shall nathans bell or treat theym by craft to thintent that they may auance me with richesse: noz vse them sharply and my selfe plesantly: but i euery difficultie I shalbe their example of labour: noz I

## fo. lxvi.

*Gene de me*

ra neocesse est praeident: falsa vita moresq; mei superant.. Sed quoniam vestra consilia accusantur: qui mihi sumum honorē et maximum negotiū imposuistis: etiam atq; etiā animis reputate: num eorum penitendum sit. Nō possum fidei causa imagines: neque triumphos aut consulatus maiorum meorum ostendere. At si res postulet: hastas / vexillum: phaleras: alia militaria dona: præterea circatrices in aduerso corpore.

Hæ sunt meæ imagines: hæc nobilitas non hereditate relata: vt illa illis: sed quæ meis laboribus et periculis quæsiui. Nō sunt composita mea vertebra: parum id facio: ipsa se virtus satis ostendit.

Illis artificio opus est: vt turpia facta oratione tegant. Neq; gratas litteras didici: parum placebat eas discere: qppc quæ ad virtutem doctoribus nihil profuerant.

At illa multo optima rei pu. doctus sum: hostes ferire: præsidia agitare: nihil metuere: nisi turpem famam: hyemē et astatem iuxta pati: humi requiescere: eodem tempore inopiam et laborem tolerare. Ergo his ego præceptis milites horrabor: neque arce cold silos: vt me opulent: neq; gloriam meam laborem illorum faciam.

## The batayle

Hoc est vtile hoc ciuile i-  
perium. Nam cum tute  
per molliciem agas: sup-  
plicio cogere: id est dñm  
non imperatorem esse.

Hec atq; alia talia no-  
stri maiores faciendo se-  
que tempu. celebraue-  
re: quis nobilitas fre-  
ipsa dissimilis moribus:   
nos illorum cunulos con-  
tent; et ois honores non  
ex merito sed quasi debi-  
tos a vobis repetit. Certe  
ruin hoes superfluum: pro-  
cul errant. Maiores eoru-  
nia aqua licebat illis reli-  
quere: diuicias imagines:  
memoriam sui praelaram.  
virtutem non reliquere:  
neq; poterant: a sola neq;  
datur dono/ neq; accipit.

Sordidum me et incultis  
moribus aiunt: & parum  
scire conuictum exorno:  
neque histriōnē vllum  
neq; pluris coquum q̄ vil-  
licū habeo: quæ mihi nō  
libet confiteri. quirites:  
nam ex parente meo et a  
lijs sanctis viris ita acce-  
pi: mūdicas mulieribus:  
viris laborem conuenire:  
omnibus bonis oportere:  
plus glorie q̄ diuitiarū:  
arma non fugellectilem  
decori esse.

Quin ergo quod iuuat:  
quodq; charum testimant  
id semp faciant samēt: po-  
tentib; adulecētiā ha-  
buere: ibi senectutē agane:  
in conuiuis: dediti vēti:  
et turpissimā parti corpo-

shall nat put the labour to them and take the worshyp to me.  
This ordēt is profitable. Thus ought a captayne demeane  
hym among his soudours and namely among worthy cite-  
zins. For whan a man lyueth delicately hymselfe and driueth  
his soudours to the peryl of batayle by punysshement or other  
rygour: he is nat to be called a captayne or ruler of an armē:  
but rather a proude lord or tyrannous oppresſor of citezins.  
Our elders worthely behauynge themſelue after this maner  
haue made noble & excellēt and intiched this comen wele: and  
themſelue also. But these estates which nowe lyueth trustyng  
to be honoured by the worthynesse of their pgenitours/ they  
thelſeffe vnlkyke of condicions despice vs & haue vs in disdayne  
whiche folowe the maners of their pgenito's. And everyhye  
office and all honours they chalange & demaunde of you nat  
by their merites: but as it were of duetie and heritage. But  
sothelij the ouer proude men erre moche from the truthe. For  
though their pgenito's & auncettry haue left vnto them every  
thyng which to them was poſſible to leauue: as riches/patri-  
mony/ & their ymages: for remembraunce and example of them  
& of their worshyp dedes. Nevertheleſſe their vertue haue they  
nat left vnto them: nor they coude nat kepe it: for that onely  
can neyther be gyuen vnto them in rewarde nor receyued of  
any man. These gentilmen ſay that I am a man without ma-  
ners & vnclyenly of behauour. And why? Forſoþ because that  
I prepare & drefle nat curiouſly many delicioſus bankettes  
ſo ſupfluuous & deyntuous as they do: and because I haue no  
iouglier nor dyslat w me to moue ſportes & diſſolut laughing:  
nor no more curiouſe coke than one of the vylage longyng to  
rural people/ whiche thyng to haue as these gentilmen haue:  
it plealeth me nat to knowledge. For I never had pleasure in  
ſuch thynges. For I haue herde of my fathet and of other in-  
ſeſt and well diſpoſed men: that ſuche delicioſuſneſſe and  
curioliſte belongeth vnto women. And that labour and besy-  
neſſe belongeth vnto men. Every good man: thynketh it mo-  
re conuenient to haue plentie of worshyp than of richesse. And  
moze honoure it is to a good man to haue the walles of his  
hous garnyſhed & ouercouered with armour/ wherewith he  
may defendi his countrey/his ſtendes and hymſelue than with  
riche ornamētes of curiouſe warke of no profit ſauē onely the  
ſyght & bayne regardetheroſ. But ſygh these gentilmen thus  
object ſuche maters to me: let them continue alway in ſuch bi-  
ces whiche lyketh the/ and that they haue euer reputed ſo dere.  
Let them incline to voluptuositē: as daunſyng/ſynging/ban-  
kettiſtng/playng/ to lechery/to glotony/ & dronkenenes. For in  
ſuche bices haue they ſpende their youth: in the ſame let them  
paſſorth

pas forth ther age: vterly subdued to the bely / to slepe / to ydernes / and subiect to the lustes of the vylest part of the bo- dy. Let them leue the swete of syghting / the peryll of deth / the blyndyng of dust in batayle: and otherlyke parys vnto vs / to whome these be more acceptable than their feestes and voluptuous bankettes or other vyle pleasuris. But they do nat so / they be nat so contented. For after that such vngoodly and vyle men haue dishonested themselves / by their foule des- des: than be they redy to take a way the rewardes of good men vnto themselves. Thus (agaynst all right) lechery and slouth moost cursed byces dothe no hurt to such as occupyeth them: but they be vter destruction to the comen wayle / and comens which be innocent and vnculpable.

But lyth I haue made answeare to these dysordred gentyl- men: and that moderately after my custome and condicion and nat so largely as their cursednesse & vices ar worthy. I shall speke nowe a fewe thynges touchyng the commen wele. And first of al haue ye good trust & esperance touchyng the besyn- nes of Numid. For ye haue nowe moued & auoyded every thyng wherby Jugurth was defended from begynnyng of the warre vnto this tyme: that is to say the couetise of Cal- phurnius & of Albinus: the vncraftynes and folys of Iulus: and the pride of Metellus. By these founde Jugurth socour hythereto: but all these be auoyded nowe. Moreouer ye haue there an army which knoweth the contrey / but verily it is mo- re noble & manly than fortunate or happy. For a great part therof is wasted & spent (and that wox is) infected and cor- rupted: what by the auarice and by the vnboldnesse & cowar- dyse of their captayns. Wherfore ye which be of lusty age and mete to endure the hardnesse of warre & batayle: nowe labour ye with me / and take ye in hande the defencē of the commen wayle. Nor let none of you be afraied nor abashed for misfor- tune of the other soudours which haue foughten there before this tyme nor of the pride of their captayns. For I myselfe as counsellour of your besynesse & felowe of your peryls shall be present with you in every besynesse bothe in your tourneys & in your batayls also. So that I shall gouerne you & my selfe without difference / and vnder one forme in every poynct. And verely by helpe of the goddes we shall within shorū season ob- tayne all auantages & comodities whiche any man may wyn in batayle / as pryses / victory / with immortall laude & worshyp. And certaynlie if these pleaso's & auantages were in dout or harde to obtaine (as they be nat): Neuerthelesse it were conve- nient to every good man (as ye be) to socour & defende the comen wayle of their couete fro distruccō & dyshonour. For Jugurth.

M. l.

ris: sudorem: puluerē: et  
alia talia nobis reliquāt:  
quibus illa epulis iucun-  
diora sunt.

Verum non ita est. Nam  
vbi se flagitijs dedecora-  
uere turpissimi viti: hos  
norū præmia eruptum  
eunt: ita iniustissime lux-  
uria et ignavia / pessime  
artes / illis qui coluere e-  
as nihil officiunt reip. in  
noxiæ cladi sunt. Nunc  
quoniā illis quantū met  
mores / non quantū illoꝝ  
flagicia poscebāt: respon-  
di: pauca de rep. loquar.

Primum oim de Numidi  
a bonum animum habe-  
tote Quirites. Nam quā  
vsq; ad hoc tempus Iu-  
gurthā tutata sunt: oia  
remouistis / auaritiam / in  
peritiam / atq; supbiam.  
Deinde exercitus ibi est  
locos sciens: sed me her-  
ele magis strēnuus / q̄ fel-  
ix. Nā magna pars eius  
auaritia aut temeritate  
ducum attrita est. Quā-  
obrē vos quibus in est mi-  
litaris artas: admittimini  
mecū: et capessite répu.  
Neq; quemq; ex calamita-  
te aliorum aut imperato-  
rum supbia metus cœpit.  
Egomet i agmine atq; in  
prælio consultor idem et  
socius piculi vobiscū ad  
ero: me vosq; omnibus in  
rebus iuxta gerā. Et pro-  
fecto dijs iuuātibus: om-  
nia matura sunt / victoria /  
præda / laus. Quā si dubia:  
aut procul essent: tamen  
omnes bonos reip. subue-  
nite deceret.

Etenim ignavia nemo i-

## The batayle

mortalis factus est: neq;  
quisq; patens liberis vti-  
a terti forē optauit ma-  
gis q; vti boni honestique  
vitam exigerent.

Plura dicerem Quirites:  
si timidis virtutem ver-  
ba adderet. Nam strenu-  
is abunde dictum puto.

certaynlie there was never man whiche obtained immortal  
laude nor euerlastynge name by cowardise or slach. Ne  
there was never wyse fathur which wold wylle his chylzen  
or sonnes to lyue euict: but onely that they myght lyue so long  
as they behaued themselfe worthely in goodnesse & honeste:  
and so to passe forth their lyfe as natural course reuerteth.

**C**Worthy romayns: I woldes speke moze unto you if I un-  
derstode that strength coude be encreased to feble or fearfull  
men: by wordes: but it is nat so. Wherfore me semeth that I  
haue sayd ynough and abundantly to noble and bolde har-  
ted men: as my trust is to proue you. 

**C**howe Marius after his exhortacion endyd:  
anone laded shyppes with ordynance of warre  
and lende forwarde with the same one Malyus  
his embassadour: and howe he himselfe anone af-  
ter folowed withal his company. And howe he  
behaued hymselfe in Numidie at fyre begyn-  
nyng. **C**The li. Chappyter.

**H**uusemodi oratice  
One habita Marius  
postq; plebis aios ex-  
rectos videt: propere com-  
mendatu stipendio: arinis:  
arq; alijs utilibus naues  
onerauit.

Cum his Aulum Maniliū  
legatum profici sci iubet.  
ipse interea milites scri-  
bere non more maiorum  
neq; ex clibibus: sed vni-  
catusque libido erat: ca-  
pite censos plerosque.

**W**han Marius had vtred and en-  
ded his wordis vnder this forme: and whan  
he sawe al the myndes of the comens enclis-  
ned to the war in trust of victorie & prayes.  
Than anone without more delay he caused  
shyppes to be charged w bateyls & treason  
for the soudyo's wages with armour: we-  
ppyn: and all other thynges necessary to war. And comaunded  
one named Iulius Manlius: which was assigned embassa-  
dours to hym: to departe forwarde with the same shyppes  
so charged. In the meane season Marius hymself remay-  
ned at Rome a lytel tym: and chose forth soudyours suche as  
hym thought most expedient: and nat after the custome of the  
olde romayns his predecessours nor after institution of the  
auenct captayns: which had ordred cartayne maner of peple  
of whom soudyours shuld be chosen for warfare in tymie con-  
uenient. But contrarywysse Marius admittid euery man ins-  
ifferently whiche was any thyng lyckly and had pleasure to  
go with hym. And many suche he admittid also whiche were  
pooze and nat suffred to go warfare before: lest their pouertie  
myght haue constrained them rather to fal to robbery than to  
deedes of chivalry. Howbeit it was inacted of the olde ro-  
mayns that suche excused of warre for cause aboue sayd:

shulde pay a certayne somme of money pretared towarde the wages of such as lawfully were admyncted to warre. Marius suffred none of these to pay any thyngē at al: but eleat many of them for his soudyours. Many of the romayns surmyled that Marius elected vnto warre these abiect parsons: for want of other good soudyours. Some other demed that he so dyd for fauoure / ambition/and parcialite: because this sort of people assited and honoured hym by auauncement at begynnyng: of his promocion. And also men consydred that vnto a man desyrous of dignicie and power: the moost nedys men be moost mete and behouable. For suchē nedys wretches be moost auenturous: for they haue nougħt to lose and alway trust in auauncement by auenturynge themselfe. And therfore they iudge euery thyngē whiche they do: good/honest and laudable: if any auantage be thereto appendant. Thus doute they no patyll so that they may come therby to promocion. At last Marius departed from Rome with semperhat greater nombre than was graunted and decreed to hym of the senators. Within fewe dayes after that: he tooke shyping and attyued in the prouince next vnto Afrike vnder the romayns at a towne named Utica. The army whiche was there with Metellus was delþuered to hym by one Publius Rutilius which was embassadour with the sayd Metellus. For Metellus hymselfe fled the seght of Marius because he wolde nat se that with his eyen/ which he coude nat endure to here. But whan Marius had restored and fulþilled the legions of his soudyo's/ and the cohortes for the subsidyes and rescous. Then went he into a plentyfull place of Numidie whiche was full of prayes. All that he tooke there: he gaue freely iurewarde to his soudyours. This done: he assayled suchē castels and townes which were but scly defended with men and walles. He had many batayls & lyght skyrmishes: and many other thynges he dyd in other places nat with moche difficultie. In the meane tyme the newe soudyours were redy manly fyghtyng without fere: and sayng that they whiche fled were other taken or slayne: therfore they aduyced them wel that the strongest and boldest was most sure of all. They consydred wel that it stode them in hande to defende with weppyn and armour their libertie/their countrey / their frendes / and all other thynges longyng to their helth and hounour. Thus laboured they for glorie/laude/and riches whiche they optayned: so that within short season the olde soudyours and the newe encreased togyder cherisshyngē and infurmyngē one an other vyl their vertue and boldnesse was h̄e. But whan the two kynges Jugurth and Bocchus vnderstoode of the

Jugurth.

M. ii.

Id factum alijs inopia bonorum: atq; per ambitio- nem cōsulis memorabat: q; ab eo genere celebra- tus adiutusque erat: et homini poteritiam que- renti cōgentissimus quis- que oportunissimus: cui neq; sua chara ( quippe q; nulla sunt) et oia cū pre- cō honesta videntur.

Igitur marius cum ali- quanto maiore numero q; decretū erat in Apri- cam prolectus: paucis di- ebus Uticam aduehit. Exercitus ei traditur a Publio Rutilio legato: nam Metellus prospectū Marij fugerat: ne video- ret ea quæ audita animis tolerare nequierat. Sed consul/expletis legis- onibus cohortibus que auxiliarijs in agrū ser- tilem et præda onustum proficisciunt: oīa ibi ca- pta militibus donat. Deinde castella et oppi- da parū munita natura et viris aggreditur: præ- lia multa ceterum alia leuia locis lacere. Inte- rim noui milites sine me- tu pugne adesse: videre fugientes capi aut occisi: fortissimū quemq; tu- tissimū: armis libertatem patriam/ patētesq; / et alia oīa regi: gloriam atq; diuitias queri. Sic breui spacio / noui / veteresque coalueri: et virtus om̄is equalis facta. At reges

A.D.

## The batayle

vbi de aduentu Marij co-  
gnouere: diuersi in locos  
difficiles abeunt.

Ita Jugurtha placuerat  
speranti mox effusos ho-  
stis inuadi posse: romanos  
sicuti plerosq; remotome-  
tu laxius licentiusque  
fueros.

commynge of Marius: they deuyded their hostes and went  
in sonder into dyuers places where no man coude attayne to  
them for difficultie of the places. This was done by counseil  
of Jugurth. For it pleased hym so to do trustyng that wyl in  
shoxt space the romayns wold be spred abrode in spoyleinge  
and than thought he to assayle them in every place whan they  
were moost without ffe at libertie at large and vnprouy-  
ded: as men at wort to be especially whan their ennemis be-  
haucheth them as if they were astrayed. Than often be the vis-  
citous improuident and lesse circumspet.

**C**howe Metellus the olde consull retourned to  
Rome: and of the worthy and valyant be-  
hauour of Marius agaynt Jugurthe  
and of his great actes at his begyn-  
nyng. **C**he. li. Chapyter.

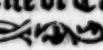
**M**etellus intrea Ro-  
ma protectus: con-  
tra suem suam leti-  
simis. ait excipitur: plebi  
pribusq; postq; inuidia de-  
cesserat: iuxta charus.

Sed Marius impigre pru-  
denterque suorum et hos-  
tium res pariter attede-  
re: cognoscere: quid vtri-  
que boni: aut contra estet.  
explorare itinera regum:  
consilia et insidias ante-  
venire. Nihil apud se  
remolum/ neque apud il-  
los tutum pati.

Itaque et getulos et Iu-  
gurthā prædas agètes ex-  
socijs nr̄is/sæpe aggredi-  
itinere fuderat: ipsumq;  
regē haud procul ab op-  
pido Cirrha armis exie-  
rat. Quæ postq; gloriola  
modo facta sunt: nec beli-  
li copiam patrādi cognos-  
uit: statuit vibes/quæ vi-  
ris aut loco pro hostibus/  
et aduersum se oportu-  
nissime erat singulas circ-

**O**n the meane tyme Metellus returned  
to Rome: whiche contrary to his opinion was re-  
ceyued with glad myndes of the romayns & after  
that the envy which Marius had moued against  
hym was asswaged and ouerpassed: he was lyke-  
dere and beloued both to the comens and senatours.

**B**ut Marius on his part applyed and toke hede to his  
owne besynesse and his ennemis also: without slcuth but  
with great wylisme. He perceyued wel & knewe what was  
good and vll for auantage on bothe sydes. He caused the wayes  
and tourneyes of the two kynges to be dayly serched & espied.  
He preuented and interrupted their coulsels/prouysions/and  
gyles. He suffred nothyng to be vnprouided and vnderdy in  
his syde: but of the other syde and party of his ennemis: he  
suffred nothyng to be sur or prouided: for alway he preuen-  
ted their prouysions and pursued them. Often whyle Jugurth  
and the Getulians spoyled the Numidyens whiche had pels-  
ded theselfe to the romayns Marius was redy in their way &  
valiantly assayed them: and ouer thre many of them whyle  
they were dispersed abrode and fleyng away for feare. And  
also nat ferre from the towne of Cirrha / he made Jugurth  
himselfe so trust in his flyght that for hast to ren away: he  
laft his armour behynde hym. But whan Marius colydred  
that his actes were onely glorious and exellent without any  
auantage: and that he myght nat execute batayle with Ju-  
gurth for his vnskedfastnes and mouyng from place to place:

he consydred in mynde and ordyned hym tedy to besyege the cities of the countrey one after another. And namely suche as outher of men or of place were necessary and behouable to his ennemis/and contrary or hurtfull to hym. This dyd he thynkynge: that if Jugurth without dysturbance suffced hym so to do he shuld other be spoyled and bereft of his cities/ordynance/socours/ & refuge: or els he must abyde the fortune of batayle & stryue for the maistry in playne feld. Bocchus the kyng of the mautiens had often sende messangers before vns to Marius: sayeng that he wolde gladly come into fauour/ amytie/ & frendshyp of the romayns: and byddyng Marius nat to dout hym as an ennemy nor to feare any thyng longing to an ennemy to be commyted of hym agaynst the romayns. It is but lytel knownen for trueth whether Bocchus sayned this thing to the intent that his coming to batayle vnknowen, & vnproued myght be to Marius more greuous: or els wherether he was wont by vnstablenes of mynde to change peace somtyme for warre: & somtyme war for peace. But Marius the consul (as he had purposed before) drue hym vnto the castels and townes whiche were walled & defended: and fiersly assayed them. Inone he tourned many of them from his ennemis to hym some by strength & violence/some by feare: and other some by promising & giveng of rewardes & prodision of their captayns. But at first begynnyng he medled but with meane castels & townes thyking that Jugurth shulde come to defende and socour his people & townes: and so come into danger of the romayns. But whan Marius herde that Jugurth was faythens and occupied in other besynesses: than thought he nat to lose his tyme: bntro auenture on gretter thyng: wherin was more harde besynesse and gretter labour & honour. Wherfore he entended to besiege the cite of Capsa whiche was a great cite/stronge/and riche. 

**C**how Marius wanne the great and ryche cytie named Capsa: and how he vitterly distroyed the same and gaue all the rychesse therof to hauocke among his soudyours. **C**the.liii.chapyter.



**M**onge the most wydest and thickest wyldernes of Numidy was this great and ryche cite named Capsa: whiche (as men say) was first bylded by that Hercules whiche was borne in the lande of Libya: and nat by Hercules the sonne of Juppter and Alcumena. Thinhabitours of Jugurth.

M. lli.

cumuenite: ita ratus aut Jugurtham præsidij s  
f vi  
datum/si ea patet/aut  
prælio cerraturum.  
fee

Nam Bocchus nuncios ad eum sepe miserat/vele populu-ro. amicitiam. ne quid a se hostile time-ret.  
Id simulauerit ne quo in prouisus grauior accedes-ret: an mobilitate ingeni/pacem atque bellum mutare solitus/paru-exploratum est. Sed consul vt cōstituerat oppida casellaq; munita adire/par tum vi: alia metu/aut premia ostendendo auertere abhostibus.

Ac primo medioeria ges-rebat: existimans lugur-tham ob suos tutados in manus venturum/sed vbi illum procul abesse/et as- lijs negotijs intētum accepit: maior& magis aspera aggredi tempus vis-sum est.

**E**rat inter ingētes so-litudines oppidū ma-gnū atq; valens/noic Capsa/cuius cōditor Her-cules libys memorabat. Eius ciues apud Jugurtham immunes leni ipse-sio: et ob ea fideliſſimi

## The batayle

habebantur: muniti aduersum hostes non moenibus modo et armis atq; viris: verum etiam multo magis aspitare locos.

Nam preter oppido loca propiqua: alia omnia vasta: inculta: egentia aquæ infesta a serpétibus: quorum vis (sicut omnium ferarum) inopia cibi acris or. Ad hoc natura serpétuum priciosa: sicut magis q; alia re accenditur.

Eius potiundi Marium maxima cupido inuaserat: tum propter usum belli: tum quia res aspera videbatur. et Metellus opidum Thalam magna gloria coepit: haud dissimiliter situm munitum: que: nisi q; apud Thalam non longe a moenibus aliquot fontes erant. Capspences vna modo atque ea intra oppidum iugi aqua: careri pluia vrebaverunt. Id ibique et in Aphrica quæ procul a mari incultius agebat eo facilius tolerabatur: quia nusmidie plerique lacte et serina carne vesceban: et neq; salem neq; alia irritamenta gule quærebant: cibus potusq; illis aduersus famem atq; sitim nō libidini neq; luxurie erat.

Igitur eoscul omnibus ex ploratis credo dijs frēs.

this cite were ruled by Jugurth peasably & easely put to no charges nor besynesse/and therfore were they moost true and faythful to hym. They were defended agaynst al enemis: nat onely with walles/armour/and men:but also with moche stronger defence of the difficultie & hardnesse of the place and contrey nere about them. So that it was in maner impossibele that any army coude cōne there for want of water and scarcite of vitels. For except the feldes & places nere to the cite all the other be voyde & wast grounde & desart without habitation/bneated/batayne/and dñe without water. All full of serpētes: which were somoch more violent and fiercs for lacke of meat and sustenance as al other wyld beestes be wont to intage for hunger. And moreouer the myscheuous and pernicious nature of serpentes is more kyndled to ragyng and bessed with thyrist than with any other thyng: which thyrist they coude nat quench there for want of water. Wherfore neyther man nor beest myght surely passe by them. Whā Marius cast al these difficulties in his mynde: his hert was persed with a merueyplous desyre to wynt this cite/both for that it war moch hurtfull to hym: and profitable to Jugurth/ and also bycause it was harde to do and moche honour myght be gotten in wynntinge therof. And moreouer bycause Metellus the other consull before hym had won the cite of Thala/with great honour and glory: whiche of sytuacion was nat bnyke to this cyte: nouther bnyke in defensio. Sawe that nat far from the walles of Thala were a fewe fontayns: but about this cite of Capsa was no water / well/ nor fontayne: sawe one and that was within the walles of the citie alway full of water. All other whiche dwelled without the walles/as in the suburbs: occupied but rayne water. The inhabitants of that contrey and of all the remenant of Africke/which were far from the see and rude people coude moch the better endure this scarste of water and thirst: for this cause. For the moost part of them were fed with mylk and bensyon nat lokyng after salt / sawces/no; other liche thynges as be no; thynges or prouocatives to glotony. They toke meate and drinke onely to slake their hunger/ and to quenche their thurst: and nat without measure to prouoke themselves to pleasure of the fleshe / as many christenmen do nowe i our dayes: which make of their bely their god. And eate nat to lyue:but they lyue to eate contrary to manes lyfe/ and bitterly inclined to bestialite. O curs sed glotony let vs christenmen leyns her of panyms to schewe the: whiche wasted the body and goodes: damnest the soule: and art mother and noice of al vices. But to retourne to my purpose: this Marius after that he had serched every thyng

by his espes / he proceded in his interprise and purpose (as men thought) holpen of the goddes. For agaynst so many & harde difficulties he coude nat haue made sure prouision by counsell of man noz by his owne priuate wyt: as he whiche had impediment and was letted nat onely by shapness of the contrey: but also by lacke & scarcite of wheat and of all other corne. For the numidens intedeth more to no: iisshe pasture for beastes than to labour or ere the grounde for corne. And also they had brought togyder all the seed and corne of the pere befor into strong holdes as their kyng Jugurth had comauined them and mozeouer at that season the feldes on euery syde were dry and bare without corne: and no manuale. For it was about the extremitie or later ende of somer. Hat withstandyng all these difficulties and sharpneses Marius made pruision ynough as the mater required. First he commytted all the bestes which he had taken in pray to foxytyme unto the horses men whiche of their owne wyl followed hym to war: or were sende to hym for helpe by friendes of themyselves. Marius comauined them to take charge to dñe forth these beastis. Then sent he Julius Manlius embassadour of the hoost to a towne named Laris / and al the cohortes of his soudyouts with hym which were fotemen and lyght haertysed for to kepe the tressour of the soudyouts wages and vitayls: whiche he had lefte in the same towne. Marius kept his couisel of this interprise so secrete that none of all his company hys noz lowe knewe of his purpose noz whan he intended. But whan Manlius and his company shulde depart towarde Laris: Marius dissimuled with them sayeng that he wold straig abrode in Numidie in rousynge and afterwarde within fewe dayes: he and his company wolde come also to the same towne of Laris / laded with prayes of his ennemis. This done he deprected towarde a flod named Tana: no creature liuely knowyng of his purpose. And every day he distribued in his tournaipes amone his hoost. cliti. heed of oxen for vitayle / whiche he comauined to be deuided by ewyn pruision amoneg them by hunders and halfe hunders togyder: deuidyng vitayls to euery company after their nombre. And in the meane season he charged bottels and bowges to be made of the hydes of the same beastes and of other ledder in great nobre. Mozeouer he easid their scarcite of wheate and other corne: by wyse prouision. And without knowledge of all his company he made good prouisyon of euery thing / whiche might be necessary vnto his armie in tyme of neve. At conclusion the syxt day after whan they were come to the sayd flod of Tana: thyder was brought a myghty multitude of bottels and bowges made of ledder,

Nam contra tantas difficultates consilio satis prouidere non poterat ( quippe etiam frumenti inopia temebatur / Quod Numidae pabulo pecoris magis quam aruo student. Et quodcumque semine natum fuerat / iussu regis in loca munita contulerant. Ager autem aridus / et frugum vacuus / ea temestate: nam astatis extremum erat ). Tam pro rei copia satis prouidenter exortatus. Pecus ovine / quod superioribus praedae fuerat: equitis auxiliariis agendum distribuit.

Aulum Manlium legatum cum cohortibus expeditis ad oppidum Laris ( ubi stipendium et comediatum locauerat ) ire iubet: dicitq se prædandum post paucos dies eosdem reverturum. Sic incepit pro suo occultato / pergit ad flumen Tanam.

Ceterum in itinere quotidie quadraginta duū pecus exercitus per centurias / item per turmas aequaliter distribuerat: et ex corijs utres utri sierente / curabat: simul et in opiam frumenti lenire: et ignaris omnibus parare / quæ mox usui forent.

Denique sexto die cum ad flumen ventum est / maxima vis utrius effecta est.

## The batayle

Ibi castris leui munimēto positis milites cibum capere atq; vti simul cum occasu solis egredierētur paratos esse iubet: omni b<sup>a</sup> abiectis sarcinis aqua modo seq<sup>nt</sup> et iumenta onerate.

Deinde postq; viſū est tempus caſtris egreditur: noctemq; totam itinere ſatto: conſedit. Idem proxima facit. Deinde tertia multo ante lucis aduentum peruenit in locū tumulosum longe a Capsa non amplius dum milium interuallo: ibique q̄ occultissime potest cum omnibus copijs diem operitur. Sed vbi dies coepit et Numida nihil hostile metuentes multi oppido egressi: repente omnem equitatum: et cū his velocissimos pedites curſu tendere ad Capsam: et portas obſidere iubet. Deinde ipſe intenct<sup>r</sup> propere ſequi neq; milites p<sup>d</sup>ari finere. Quæ poſtq; oppidani cognouere: res trepidat<sup>r</sup> metus ingēs: malum improutum. Ad hoc pars ciuiū extra mēnia in hostium potestate deprehensa cogere: vti deditioñem facerent. Cæterum oppidum incēsum. Numide puberes interfici: alij omnes venuti prāda militibus diuisa. Id facinus contra ius bellī nō auaritia: neq; ſcelere consulis: est admissū: ſed quia locus Jugurtha opportunus: nobis aditu difficultis: gen<sup>r</sup> hominum mobile: infidū ante neq; beneficio: neq; metu coercitum.

There pytched they their tentes with eſy labour and ſmall defence. Than refreſhed they themſelue with meate and drinke: and eaſed themſelue a certayne ſpace. This done: Marius commaunded them that euery man ſhulde be redy to proceде forwarde euyn with the ſonne goyng downe and that euery man ſhulde onely lade hymſelue and his beaſtes with water in the ſayd bowges and bottels leauyng al other cartage burthens/ and baggage: there behynde them in their tentes/ vnder the cuſtody of other ſoudyours thereto alligned. After this whan he ſaw his tyme: he departed forthe from his tentes with his company: and lauboured al the nyght longe in his tourney. The day after folowynge he reſted in a ſecrete & couert place. In the ſame wyſe behaued he hymſelue the nyght next enſuyng: and in the thyrdyng nyght moche before the day lyght he entred into a fayre and large felde ful of ſmal hylles and downes/ no more but two myle ſpace from Capsa. And there he carped withal his hoofe in the moost priueſt maner abidynge the day lyght. But alſone as the day began to appetre: many numidyens pſued forth of the towne: ſome to dysporte themſelue: and ſome about their besynes / noughe fearing noꝝ ſuceptyng of their ennemis. Whan Marius ſaw that: anone withal haſte he ſent all his horſemen to the towne/ and with them as many fotemen in lyght harnesse as were moost ſwift and ſpedy. Whome he commaunded to ren withal haſt and boldely and valiantly to assayle the towne: and to beſyege the gates. Than after he hymſelue folowed ſpedely: but with good hebe and aduifeſment: nat ſufferynge his ſoudyours in the aſſaut noꝝ in the way thyderwarde to fal to robbing noꝝ prayes by ſpoyle of their ennemis. Whan thinhabitantes of the towne kne we herof: their caſe was vnlure / their feare great and horriblie: for the ſodayne chaunce of them was nothynge ſupected beforē noꝝ prouyded. Many of the ceterins whiche were without the towne and were taken and in power & captuite of the romains their ennemis ſent vnto them within the towne deſyring them for ſauē gaſte of their lyues to pelde themſelue and the cite to Marius. So was it done at conclusion. Howbeit this nat w<sup>r</sup> ſtandynq Marius brent the cite. All the numidyens inhabitan‐ tantes therof which were of ful age & able to bere wepen were ſlayne: and the remenant as women/ chyldren/ and aged men were taken paſoners and ſolde for their taunſome. The pray and richeſſe was deuyded among the ſoudyours. This deude agaynſt the lawe of armes was nat thus done by Marius: by couetyſe noꝝ any outher crueltie of hym: but bycauſe the towne & place was pfitable/ and neceſſarie to Jugurth & to the

comayng harde to come to. And the maner of the peple pro-  
ued mouable and vnlauful cuet of nature before: and neyther  
restrained from their yll appetite by benefice or good dede: noz  
yet with awe or feare of punysshement.

**C**howe Marius by fortune more than by stren-  
gth wanne the strongest castell of all Numidy/  
wherin were the tresours of Jugurth.

**C**the. lxiij. chapyter.

**M**After that Marius had brought to  
ende so great and harde an interprise with-  
out any losse or damage to hym or any of  
his peple. Though he were reputed noble/  
great and excellent before: than began he to  
be counted more famous & excellent. Every  
noble dede: was reputed to be done by  
strength & wylisme of Marius: and ascribed to his strength  
and polycie. And that such thynges as were done by good  
counsell and prouision / and also such as hapened by fortune  
or chance: and by neglygence of their ennemis. The sou-  
ditors were so manerly treated without crueltie or fiersnesse  
of their captayne: and also made riche and abundant in treas-  
sour and iewels: that they eralded and praysed his name to  
the heuen. And loued hym as themselfe. But in contrarywyle  
the numidys feared hym more than any man lyuyng.  
Shortly to speke: both the frenches of thempste and ernemis  
also thought verily that outher Marius had a godly mynde  
and was a god hymselfe: or els that he was priue with the  
goddess: and dyd all his dedes and besynesse by their aduyse/  
counsell/ and prouision: which shewed hym before what shuld  
fortune after. But whan this chaunce had fortuned so well at  
Capsa: anone Marius drue hym to other townes/ and toke  
as many as he besyeged. In some townes the numidys res-  
isted hym to their power: but it coude nat auayle. In many  
other townes the dwellers gaue them ouer and left them bo-  
de and ran awaþ feryng so to be treated & delit withall as they  
of Capsa were: bycause their townes were lyke behouable to  
Jugurth and hurtfull to Marius. Whan Marius came to  
any such towne: destitute and voyde of dwellers he set fyre in  
them & brennt them grounde smothe. The aged men/ women &  
chyldryen: toke them to wodes and caues to hyde themselue.  
The yong men & lusty whiche were taken were slayne dorene  
tight. Thus was euery place sylled with wepyng & wayling/

**P**estq; tantam rem per  
Pegit Marius sine vlo  
suorum incommodor  
magnus et clarus antea  
major clariorq; haberi c  
pit. Via non bene consul  
tamodo verum etiam cas  
su data in virtutem tra  
hebantur.

Milites modesto imperio  
habiti: simul et locuples  
tes ad coelū ferre Mariū,  
filii

Numidaꝝ magis q; ullum  
mortalem timere postres  
mo omnes socij: atq; hos  
sist credere illi aut men  
tem diuinam esse aut de  
os & nutu cuncta portandi.

Sed consul: vbi ea res be  
ne euenit: ad alia oppida  
pergit: pauca repugnatō  
bus Numidis capiuntur.

plura propter capsensib  
miseras igni corruptiuntur.

luctu atque exinde omnia  
complentur.

## The batayle

Denique multis locis potitus ac plenisq; exercitu invenientio: aliam rem agreditur: non eadem asperitate qua capsensiu*m* scelerum haud secus difficultatem. Namque haud longe a flumine Mulucha (quod Jugurtha Bocchique regnum disiungebat) erat inter ceteram planiciem mos faxus mediocri castello: satis patens in immensum editus: uno per angusto aditu relictus.

Nam per omnia natura velut opere atque consulta praeceps erat: quem locum Marius & ibi regis thesauri erant summa vi capere intedit: sed ea res forte & cōsilio meius gesta erat.

Nam in castello virorum atque armorū satis magna vis: et instrumenti: et fons aquæ: aggetibus: turribus: et alijs machinationibus locus importunus.

Iter castellanorum angustum admodum. utrinque precise vincit cū ingenti periculo frustra agebatur.

Nam cum hæ paululum precesserant igni aut lapidibus corrumpebatur.

Milites neq; pro ope consistere propter iniquitatem loci: neq; inter vineas sine periculo administrare: optimus quis: casare aut suciari: certis metus augeri.

brennyng and slaughter: one mengled with other. Finaly after Marius had won into his handes many townes & castels: and some without resistance or blode shedyng of his men / he went in hande with an other maistry and difficultie nat so sharpe nor harde to come to as was Capsa / but to be won or besyged it was nat les harde nor of les difficultie.

Nat farre from the flod of Mulucha (which water deuyeth the kyngdome of Jugurtha: from the kyngdome of Bocchus) was a great rocke or mountayne of stene in myddes of a playne: open ynochough to be sene hauyng therpon bylded a meane castel of quantite: but of a meruaylous altitude & onely one strayed passage and narowe left to cōcherto. But on every other syde the rocke of naturall growynge was downe right lyke a wall: as if it had ben made for nones with mannes hādes. Marius purposed with all his might to take this castell: and namely bycause the tresours of Jugurtha were w̄ in the same. But this his purpose at last came to effect/rather by chaunce of fortune than by prouision or counsell. For this castell was garnished & plentuously storied with men / weapon vytels / and withall other ordynance requisite & necessary to defence of such a fortres. Moreouer w̄ in the same was a fountayne pleynful of clere water. And besyde this the sytuation therof was such that without matuelous difficultie & unmesurable labour none ennemis myght attayne or approchenere thereto their ingynes of batayle to frushe the walles or any other part therof. Besyde al these defences the double walles ō this castel were garnished w̄ towres/bulwarkes / & all other defences & ingynes which coude be ymagined by mannes mynde: and that rownde about in compasse as well within as without. The way thereto: by which the inhabitants & garrison used to go and come / was very strayed and narowe. Insomuch that the romayns entryng by the same way with their ingynes of batayle were cōstrained to cut their paues on both sydes and to make them more narowe for strayednesse of the passage. And insuche maner they proceeded forwarde vnder the same in great paryll and with moch difficultie: and at conclusion all in bayne. For whan they were come nere to the walles and wolde haue set vp and adioyned the same paues to the walles to haue vndermined vndet them: all their labour was frastrate. For what with stones and what with fyre the defenders of the castel brake and b̄ent them agarne downe to the grounde. Thus cowde nat the soudyo's whiche vndermined the walles contynue to gyder at their worke and besynesse: for strayednes and difficultie of the place and impotune violence of them within the castell. Nor other

## of Jugurth.

soudyours conde nat serue them whiche made and repared  
the paues without great paryll & daunger. so; continually  
as fast as they rayled the paues to couer and defende them  
selver:they were broken and brennt bytwene their handes. In  
the meane tyme no soudyout was so good/strong/noz bolde:  
but that he was outher wounded or beaten done to deth.  
Than was feare encreased to other that were feble and faynt  
herded. **C**But after that manys dayes & great labours  
in this maner were ouerpasseid and spent in bayne. Marius  
was soze angred & vexed in his hert revoluyng many thyrsg  
in mynde:but specially whyther he myght gyue ouer his pur-  
pose (seyng his labour frustrate) or els abyde the chaunce of  
fortune which at many tymes before he had founde fauorable  
and frendly to hym. Whyle Marius chafed & brennyng inde-  
syze reuolued suche thynges in his mynde both day & nyght:  
it hapened by chaunce of fortune that a certayne lumbard a  
symplesoudyout / one of the company whiche was last sente  
fcom Rome to Numidy to supply the army strayed abrode  
from his company a lytel way whiche lumbarde as he wandred  
founde amoung the stones many smal snayles crepyng on the  
grounde:nat far from that syde of the castel whiche was ouer  
agaynst the syde whiche the romans bespged and assaypled.  
Bycause this lumbard in his countey was acustomed lyke  
other of his countrey men to eate such snayles prepared after  
their maner:therfore he gathered first one and than an other/  
and after that many:ascendyng vp by lytel and lytel: somtyme  
crepyng somtyme clymmynge / for no other intent or pur-  
pose saue togather such snayles:and so far he pceded by lytel  
and lytel tyll at last he came almost to the top of the mountay-  
ne. But whan he sawe all that syde of the castel desolate and  
no person steryng:andone he begafie to haue a pleasure & de-  
syze in his mynde for to woke some maistry/as the propertie  
and codicion is of every man couertyng to wyn a name/laude  
and riches:and to bespoken of. By chance of fortune in the sa-  
me place where the lumbard stode in this advisemet / among  
the stones grue a great and olde oke tre hauyng the myddes  
a lytel bowyng downe towarde the grounde:and the remanent  
crokyng upwarde agarine with myghty armes and branches  
ascendyng to the hyest of the walles with the top eret & lyfred  
up as euery herbe & tre of nature is wont to growe upwarde  
at the top. This lumbard well advised the same & aduentured  
to clyme vp warde takyng his holde somtyme by the branches  
and boves of this oke:and somtyme takyng holde & leanyng  
by the stones whiche apperted forth in the wall tyll at the last he  
attayned vnto the very top of the wall. And whan he sawe no

At Marius/multis diebus  
& laboribus consumatis/  
anxius trahere cum animo  
suo:omitteret ne ioco-  
prum:qm̄ frustra erat: an  
fortunam expiretur: qua-  
sepe prospera ylus fue-  
rat.

<sup>op.724</sup>  
Quæ quum multos dies  
noctesq̄ astuas agitatet:  
totæ quidam ligur ex co-  
hortibus auxiliarijs/mis-  
siles gregarius aliquantu-  
lū egrilus castris/haud  
procul a latere castelli/  
quod aduersum prælian-  
tib⁹ erat: ai aduertit in-  
ter saxa repetes coeles;  
quarum cū vnam atque  
alterā:deinde plures pes-  
teret studio leger dī pau-  
latim prope ad sumū mō-  
tis egressus est.

Vbi postq̄ solitudinē in-  
tellexit:more ingenij hu-  
mani cupido difficilia fa-  
ciundi animum vertit.

Et forte in eo loco gran-  
dis iux coauerat/intre  
saxa/paululū modo pros-  
na:deinde flexa atq; au-  
gusta in altitudinē:quo cū  
& a gignetū natura fert.

Cuius ramis modo:mo-  
do eminentibus fax's nis-  
sus Ligur/castelli plantis  
& emper scripti q̄ cuncti  
Numidae in tertii prælian-  
tibus aderant.

## The batayle

Exploratis omnibus que  
mox vsui fore ducebat:  
eodem regreditur non te  
merere/vti ascenderat: sed  
tentans omnia et circum  
spiciens.

Itaq; propere adit Mari-  
um:acta edocet: horretur  
ab ea parte/qua ipe desce-  
derat/castellū rētēt: pol-  
licetur se ducem itineris:  
periculique nihil else.  
Marius cum ligure pro-  
missa eius cognitū ex pre-  
sentibus misit: quoq; vti  
cuiusq; ingenium erat: i-  
ta rem difficultem aut fa-  
cilem nunciare.

Consulis tamen animus  
paululum arrectus est.  
Itaq; ex copia tubicinum  
et cornicinum quinq; nu-  
mero q; velocissimos de-  
legit: et cum his præsidio  
qui forent quatuor cen-  
turiones: omnesq; liguri  
parere iubet: et ei nego-  
tio proximum diem con-  
stituit.

Sed vbi ex præcepto du-  
cis tempus visum est:  
tatis compositisq; oibus  
ad locum pergit. Cæterū  
illi qui centurijs præterāt  
edocti aduce/arma orna-  
sumq; mutauerunt/capi-  
te atq; pedibus nudis/vti  
prospectus nixusque per  
faza facilius iacet.

man syring on that part there stode he styl espyed of no man  
and noted & cōsydred wel at his pleasure al the inwarde part  
of the castel and the playne within the walles abourthe towze.  
This lumbard had somoche the moze leasout to take so long  
aduisement bnespyed for al the numidyens defenders of the  
castel were on the other syde attenyng & gryeng hede to the  
assaut and defendyng themselfe and the castel agaynst the ro-  
mayns. Whan the lumbard had espyed and consydred every  
thyng which he thought myght be auantage to his after pur-  
pose: than he descended agayne downewarde by the same way  
which he ascended: but nat without hede nor with so lytel ad-  
uisement as he ascended upwarde: but prouyng every way/  
and lokyng about pf it were possible to brynge into the castel  
any company of men by that syde or nat. This wel consydred:  
assone as he descended: anone he went to Marius and infor-  
med hym of every thynge as he had done echo thyng & requi-  
thyng hym to put in pزوfe whether the castel myght be won on  
that syde where he had ben. Farthermore he pyn sed hymselfe  
to be gyde unto such as wold vndertake that intypise sayeng  
that in the mater was no danger. Marius hetyng these wor-  
des of the lumbard sendeforth with hym certayne of his men  
of them which were there present to vnderstand & knowe the  
trueth of the mater. Whan they had ben there & retourned to  
Marius agayne: some brought hym worde that the mater  
was easly to do: and some other sayd that it was very harde &  
perylous. The sentece of every man was after as their mynd  
gaue them. The cowardes thought it harde/but such as were  
of bolde hertes and desyrous of worshyp thought it easly and  
without moche peryl. Neuerthelesse the mynde of Marius  
was somwhat crafted to cōfort and good hope: and therfore of  
al the company of trumpettes/and of other such mynsters as  
be wont to be in batayle to gyue courage and signes to the  
fig;ters/he chose forth syue which were moost swyft & moost  
lyght and deliuerer: and .iii;.hundred men he assigned to assynt  
and defende the sayd trupettes. And al them he cōmaunded to  
obey to the lumbard and to be ruled & ordred by hym in every  
thyng. The day next folowyng was assigned to them to pro-  
cede forth i their besynesse. Whan the tyme assynd & prefired  
by Marius was come the lumbard wth his company had made  
tedy and ordred every thyng: and so went to the place where  
he had ben before. But whan they were come thyder: the lum-  
bard their gyde caused them to change their armour / and to  
make bare their heedes and their fete: to thintent that they so  
bare hedde the better myght le aboue them and on every syde  
of them: and that they bcyng bare sore myght labour somoche  
the better

the better and take better hold in clymming vp by the stones. Their swordes were fastned behynde at their backes & their buckelers withal which were made after the fassion of the numidens buckelers of lether: bycause of lyghter weyght and burthen. And also to shewent that they shulde gyue lessounes or noyse / if it hapned any stome to smyte agaynst them. This done: the lumbard went vp before them and bounde smal cordes to the stones and to the olde rotes whiche aperte aboue the stones where he coude espy any suche wherby the soudyours sustayning themselfe & takynge holde myght more lightly & with more ease mount and clym vp warde. And somtyme he went before and helped them vp with his handes specially such as for that vncustomed way were somewhat ferful. Somtyme whan thascendyng or goyng vp was ouer harde and sharpe: he put eche of them vp before hym without armour: and than he hymselfe folowed with their armour and weppyn. Such places where moost doute was in: he specially proued and assayld them moost of al: and in goyng & comyng often tymes vp & downe by the same moost dangerous passages: he encreased audacie & boldnesse to the remenant. Thus after they had ben soze weryed / and with long & great labourt endeuored themselves: at last they came into the castel / whiche on that syde they founde desolate & without defencē. For (as sayd is before) al they whiche were with in the castel were occupied in fightyng/or redy to fight agaynst the romayns: as they were on other dayes before. But whan Marius vnder stode by messagers how the lumbard had done: howbeit that al the day before his men had ben soze besied and occupied in fightyng: & assayling the castel. Neuertheles specially at this tyme he exhortē & enbolded them: and he hymselfe departing forth from vnder his pauals caused his soudyō's to adioyne themselves neare togyder / & to holde vp their sheldes aboue their heedes so that the cōtoyning of them semed as it wey the feame of a bolt. Marius kept hym vnder the same for his defensē / & so approched to the walles. And both he & his company whiche were neare about hym valiantly assayled the castel: and also other of his company whiche stode a far of & coude nat come neare the walles for prease: assayled the castel fierly from a far and soze bered and put in feare their ennemis within the castel throwyng agaynst them plumettes of leed with synges/ arowes/ dartes/ and al other maner engyns of batayle wherwith any thyng coude strongly be thrown into the castel. But the Numidens within the castel had often before this tyme overtoured and brent the tentes and pauales of the romayns and toke therby so great audacie and boldnesse that

Jugurth.

A.6.

f. 111a

Sup terga gladij & scuta:  
veiu ea numidica excorijs pōderis gratia: simul  
et offesa quo leuius frēs  
perēt. Igitur prægrediēs  
liger/saxa/ et si q̄ vetusta  
te radices eminebat/laq̄  
is viciebat: quib⁹ alleua-  
ti milites facilius ascen-  
derent: interdū timidos  
insolentia itineris leua-  
re manu. vbi paulo aspe-  
rior ascensus erat/singu-  
los præ se inermes mitte-  
re? Deinde ipse cū illorū  
armis sequi. q̄ dubia ni-  
xa videbātur/potissimum  
tentare/ ac s̄epius eadē  
ascendens et descēdens:  
deinde statim di grediēs  
cateris audaciā addere.

Igitur diu multumq; sa-  
tigat: tandem in castellū  
perueniunt: desertum ab  
ea parte/q; sicut alijs die  
bus/omnes aduersum hos-  
tes aderant.

Marius vbi ex nuncij es  
qua ligur agerat/cognos-  
uit. q̄q tota die intentos  
prælio suos habuerat: tu  
vero cohortatus est mili-  
ties: et ipse extra vineas  
egress⁹ testudine acta suc-  
cedere: et simul hostem  
tormentis/sagittarijsq;  
et funditoribus eminus  
terrere.

At Numidae/ s̄epe antea  
vineis Romanorum sub  
uersis item incensis/non

## The batayle

castelli incensibus sese tu-  
tabuntur: sed pro muto  
dies noctesq; agitare: ac  
Romani maledicere:  
Mario recordam obie-  
clare: militibus natis ser-  
uitum lugurthæ minari:  
secundis rebus feroceſ  
esse. Interim oibus roma-  
ni hostius: p; pralio in-  
tetiſ: vivi ringi; pro glo-  
ria pro imperio his: illis  
pro salute tertantibus:  
repente a tergo signa ca-  
nere:

ac primo mulieres et pu-  
eri qui viſum procererat  
fugere. Deinde ut quis-  
quimuto proximus erat:  
postremo cuncti armati in-  
erimesq; quod vbi acce-  
dit: eo acrius instare ro-  
mani: fundere ac pleros  
que tantummodo fauia-  
re. Deinde super occiso-  
rum vadere corpora: audi-  
gloria: certantes murum  
ascendere: neque quemq; omnium praeda morari.  
Sic forte correpta Ma-  
rii temeritas gloriam ex-  
culpa inuenit.

they defended nat themſelue within the castel walles: but wal-  
ked vp and downe without the castel walles bothe day and  
nyght rculyng and rcprouynge the romayns and obiectyng  
cowardyse agaynst Marius. And thretynge that his sou-  
dyours shulde be made ſubiectes and bonde men to Jugurth  
in tyme to come / whome they purpoſed at that tyme to make  
bonde to them. Thus whyle they thought themſelue ſure and  
their mater in good caſe: they were harde and egar þnough  
reuylinge and thretynge the romayns. In the meane ſpace  
whyle the romains and their ennemis were belyft fighting  
withal their myght: the romayns for Laude glorie and lords-  
chyp: and the Numidiens for their helth and ſauyng of their  
lyues. Inone ſodenly the lumbard with his company which  
were within the castel on the backsyde blewe their trumpes-  
tes. First of al the women and chyldryn which went to the  
walles toſe the bykering were al abafched and fled inwarde  
to the castel: and after them al the ſoudyors which were with-  
out and neare to the walles and coude escape in. And finally  
they all bothe armed and unarméd fled inwarde. Whan the  
romayns ſawē this they assayled the castel moze fierſly: ſome  
they ſlewē and ouerthrew: ſome they wounded ouerpallynge  
or ſtandynge vpon the bodyes of them which were ſlayne. Il  
their deſyze was with their handes to wyn glorie and wo-  
chyp. They ſteyued to ascendē vnto the walles every man co-  
uetynge to be before other. None of them al taryed nor was let  
withſpoyleſ nor prayes. Their great courage ſuffered them  
nat to loke there after / vyl by manhode and strength they had  
won the castel. Thus was fortune fauorable to Marius: ſo  
that his firſt negligence and vnywylle boldnesſe to assayle a ca-  
ſtel incerpugnable was tourned by chance from rebuke to glo-  
rie and laude ſuch was his fortune. But whan Marius had  
won this caſtel after estimacion of man nat able to be won:  
than was he lord of the moost part of al the treaſour of Ju-  
gurth: the caſtel was gyuen al to mordre and hauocke. And  
the ſoudyours of Marius richely rewarded euery man after  
his deſert. .:.

Chow in the meane tyme whyle this caſtel was  
in wynnyngē / a noble man of Rome named  
Lucius Sylla: came from Rome to  
Marius with a great bende of  
horſemen: and of the maners  
& behauour of this Sylla.  
**C The. lv. Chappyter.**

## of Jugurth.

**G**reat meantyme whyle this fiers assaute  
and victorie was concluded at this castel: a fa-  
mous lorde of Rome named **Lucius Sylla** / tis-  
souter of the army came from Rome to **Marius**  
with a great bende of hoysmen. Whome the same  
**Marius** at his departyng from Rome had left there to rayse  
and assemble socours vnto the war among the Italiens and  
other nacions frendes and louers of the empire of Rome.  
¶ But forasmoch as the matter moueth vs to make mencion  
of so worthy a man and of his disposition and maners: ther-  
fore it semeth me conuenient in this part somwhat to write of  
his behauour & conuersacion: and that as brefely as I may  
conueniently: namely for two causes. The first for that I ins-  
tende nat to make relation of his behauour & maners in any  
other place of this cronycle saue here. Secondly for alsmoche  
as none other authour hath written suffcyently of hym. For  
howebeit that one hystoriograph named **Lucius Sisenna**:  
wrote most dyligently and best of his actes of any other be-  
fore neuertheles me semeth that he spake lytel accordyng to  
truthe nor indyfferently. For his tong nor pen were nat at ly-  
berte for alsmoche as he was sowhat in danger to þ sayd **Sylla**: wherby he was prohibyted to say or to write / accordyng to  
þ truthe. For what by fauour & what by fere he durst nat tou-  
the playnly the vices which were in hym. But here I purpose  
(all fauour and fere layd a part) indifferently to write of hym.  
¶ This **Sylla** of progeny: was descended of moost noble  
stocke of the remais. Nowbete the name of his aunctety was  
almost lost and decayed by dulnesse/negligence/and slouth of  
some of his lynage. In greke and in laten he was of lyke con-  
nyng: and excellently seen in both the langages. His mynde  
was great/and bolde of courage. Of voluptuous pleasours  
he was desyrous: but moche more desyrous of glory & laude.  
In vacant lesor he was moch enclined to þ lustes of his body.  
But such pleasure or voluptuousnes dyd never let nor with-  
holde hym from any besynesse or ocupacion necessary: howbe  
it such pleasure so blynded hym that he toke no wyfe of byrth/  
maners/and honestie conuenient for his estate. He was moch  
eloquent of speche crafty & subtyll ynough. He had the wavyes  
easely to get frendshyp/and it was also no maistry to get ffre  
shyp of hym: in fayning/dissimulyng / and counterfaytinge  
of besynesses: his wytte was very hye and excellent. He was  
a marueilous & incredyble gyuer of many thynges / but spe-  
cially of money: and before the warre and victory whiche the  
noble men of Rome: had agaynst the comen people: He was  
so noble & worthy reputed that it is in maner incredyble: nor

Jugurth.

¶.ii.

**C**aeterū dum ea res  
agitatur: **Lucius Silla**  
questor cum magno  
equitatu in castra venit:  
qui vt ex latio et socijs  
exercitū cogeret / Romæ  
relictus erat.

Sed quoniam nos tanti  
viri res admonuit: idone  
um visum est de natura  
cultaque eius paucis di-  
cere. Neq; enim alio lo-  
co de **Syllæ** rebus dictu-  
ri sumus. Et **Lucius Si-**  
senna optime et diligen-  
tissime omnium / qui eas  
res dixerat psecutus: pa-  
rū mihi libero ore locu-  
tus videtur.

Igitur **Sylla** gētis patrī-  
cia nobilis fuit: familia  
prope iam extincta maio-  
rum ignauia.  
Literis græcis atq; latiis  
iuxta atque doctissime es-  
ruditus: animo ingēti: cu-  
pidus voluptatū: sed glo-  
riæ cupidior: ocio luxu-  
rios: else: tamen ab nego-  
tijs nūq; voluptas remo-  
rata ē nisi q; de vxore po-  
tuit honestius consuli.  
Eacundus: callidus: et a-  
amicicia facilis: ad simus-  
landa negotia altitudo  
ingenii: incredibilis mul-  
tarum rerum/ac maxime  
pecunia largitor: atq; il-  
li scelerissimo omniū ans-  
te ciuilem victoriam nū-  
q; super industriam fortu-  
na fuit: multiq; dubita-  
vere fortior an fœlicior  
esset.

## The batayle

Nam postea quæ fecerat:  
incertum habeo: pudeat  
mag; an piget differere.

his good fortune never passed the polisy of his wyt: in somo-  
che that many men were in dout whyther he was more fortu-  
nate than strong. But after the victory of this warre: so bns-  
goodly was his demesnour & so cruel / that verily I knowe  
nat whyther I may moxe be ashamed or greued to write it or  
to speke therof. For after that this warre of Numidy was en-  
ded: & both Marius & this Sylla were retourned to Rome: a  
great discorde fel bytwene the lordes & comens. Marius toke  
part with the comons: but Sylla toke part with the lordes  
and at last droue Marius forthe of the citie. After that: an  
other man of great power called Cynna whiche had ben syue  
tymes cosull of Rome gathered an hoost of men and toke part  
with Marius agaynst this Sylla. But at conclusion Sylla  
ouercame hym in batayle: and slewe hym. After this: Sylla  
cruelly murdred an other noble man of Rome named Catus  
Carbo: and with hym yonge Marius / sone of this Marius  
which warred in Numidy. Last of al whan this Sylla had  
won victory ouer Marius & his fauourers: than became he  
most cruel of al other: in somoch that he fylled al the citie with  
blod of the citezins. But here wyl I leaue to speke farther of  
this Sylla: or of his behauour i cruelte: and returne to write  
of his behauour in this warre of Numidy vnder Marius.

After that this Sylla (as I haue sayd before) was come  
to Afrike & to the hoost of Marius with his company of horses  
men: within short season he became most expert in chualtry &  
crafty aboue al other: howbeit before this tyme he was but cu-  
de & ignorant of dedes of chualtry. And moxeouer he treted &  
gouerned his loundours with maners & mkenes. And ga-  
ue rewardes to many: to some whiche desyred hym: and to  
some other of his owne pleasure non desyred thereto. But he  
wolde take no rewardes nor gyftes agayne / without it were  
agaynst his wyl. And if he so dyd at any tyme agaynst his  
wyl: than was he moxe redy to gyue agayne that whiche was  
gyuen to hym: than to pay that money whiche he had borowed  
of other. He demaunded nothyng agayne of any man though  
it were due and det to hym: but rather he laboured and ende-  
uored hymselfe that many myght be in his det / and by such  
meanes to haue them bounde to hym. And howbeit that he  
was one of the grettest of Rome: yet disdayned he nat the co-  
mpany of the most symplesoudours of the hoost: but comuned  
and accompanied with them both insportes & in sadnes. In  
labours he was alway redy. In batayle & in watchyngs with  
other belynnes of warre he suffred no man to be before hym.  
Nor i the meane season he neyther hurt the good name of the  
cosul nor of none other good man: whiche thing men desyrouys

Igit Sylla ( vt supra di-  
ctum est ) postq; in Africā  
atq; in castra Marij cum  
equitatu venit rūdis ans-  
te et ignarus bellis soler-  
tissimus omnium in pau-  
cis tempestatibus factus  
est. Ad hoc milites beni-  
gne appellare multis ro-  
gantibus alijs ip̄e per se  
date beneficii: nūtius ac-  
ci pere: sed ea properanti  
us q̄ es mutuum reddere:  
ipse a nullo repetere:

magis laborare id vt illi  
q̄ plurimi deberent: ioc̄  
atque seria cum humillia-  
mis agere.

In operib; in acie atque  
ad vigilias mult; adesse:  
neq; iterum ( quod prava  
ambitio solet ) consulis  
aut cuiusq; boni fama le-

of worshyp & honour be often wont to do: in dissypraying of other they thinke to obtaine great laude to theselfe. He onely laboured that none might passe hym neyther in counsel nor in myght or manhood of his hand. But he passed many. By whiche maners & condicions in short tyme he became very deute & welbeloued/nat onely to Marius:but also to al the hoost.

**C**how Marius preuayled in batayle agaynst both the two kynges/ Jugurth and Bocchus. **C**he.lvi.chapyter.



Ut whan Jugurth had lost the towne of Capsa / as is sayd before: and dyuerse other fortresses and other places defensives which to hym were profitable. And also a great quantite of his treasour / wher in he moost trusted: Anone he sent messengers to kyng Bocchus reuyryng hym in al hast to come to Numidie and to bryng his army with hym: saying that it was hye tyme to make batayle with Marius. But whan he vnderstode that Bocchus prolonged the tyme in ouerlong taryeng/hauyng dryuers cōsiderations of peace and warre/as he that was in dout of the chaunce and fortune of the ende therof. Jugurth agayne corrupted the nert of his counsel with gyftes in lykewise as he had done before: and prompted vnto the kyng Bocchus hymselfe/the thirde part of the kyngdome of Numidie: if the romayns were driven out of Africke / or yf the war shulde be brought to ende without losse or diminisshyng of his kyngdome and marches therof. The kyng Bocchus induced with hope of this reward: with a great multitude of people came to Jugurth/and adioyned both their armes togyder in one. **C**At this tyme Marius with his company was in his tourney towarde the putnace which was in the coost of Africke & apartayned to thempsire: where the sayd Marius purposed to rest with his company/ tyl the wynter were past. But whan he was in his tourney & in leest dout: Jugurth and Bocchus bothe togyder invaded and set vpon hym and his men whan the tenth part of the day scarsly remayned. This dyd they: thynkinge that the nyght which was neare come shulde to them be great socour and defence if they were overcome: and if they dyd ouercome the romayns: it shulde be to them no damage nor imvermenys by cause they knewe the contrey & place better than the romayns. But on the other syde bothe these chaunces: in darkenesse Jugurth.

**A**.iii.

dererat & modo cōsilio ne  
q; manu priorem aliū pa-  
ti: plerosq; anteuenire.  
Quibus rebus et artibus  
breui Mario et militibus  
charillimus factus est.

**A** T Jugurtha postq; oppidum Capiam  
aliosque, munitos,  
et sibi vtiles/simil er pe-  
cuniam magnā amiserat:  
q; primū in numidiam co-  
pias adduceret. Prælij fa-  
ciendi tēpus adesie. Quē  
vbi cūctari accepit: et du-  
biū bellī atq; pacis ratiō-  
nes trahere: tur suū/vt an-  
tea proximos eius donis  
corrumpit.

Ipsiq; Boccho pollicetur  
numide tertian partem/  
si aut romanī aphyrica ex-  
pulsi/aut integris suis fi-  
nibus bellum compositum  
foret. Eo præmio il-  
lectus Bocchus/cum ma-  
gna multitudine Jugur-  
tam accedit. Ita ambos-  
rum exercitu coniuncto:  
Mariū iam in hiberna  
proficiscētēt/vix decis-  
ma parte diei relicta/in-  
uadunt: rati noctem qua-  
iam aderat/et vīcis sibi  
munimento fore: et si vis-  
cissent: nullo impedimen-  
to:q; locos sc̄iētes erant.

Contra romanis vtrumq;

## The batayle

casum in tenebris difficilem  
lentore. Igitur simul consilium ex multis de hostium  
aduentu cognovit et ipsi  
hostes aderant, et priusque exercitus aut instrui, aut  
sarcinas colligere: denique ante quod signum aut  
imperium vilum accipere, quod uiuit: Equites mauri  
atque geruli: non acie neque  
villo more praeceps: sed ca-  
teruatum ut quosque fors  
coglobauerat: in noscos concurrunt. Qui omnes  
trepidi improuiso metu:  
attamen virtutis memo-  
res: aut arma capiebant:  
aut capientes illos ab hos-  
tibus defensabant.  
Pars equos ascenderet: ob-  
uiam ire hostibus: pugna  
latrocino magis quam praes-  
lio similis fieri: sine si-  
gnis: sine ordinibus equi-  
tes pedipesque permisisti ca-  
dere alios:

alios obtrucare: multos contra aduersos acerrime  
pugnantes ab tergo cir-  
cuerint: neque virtus: ne-  
que arma satis regere: quod  
hostes numero plures et  
vndique circumfuerant.  
Denique romani veteres:  
nouique: et ob ea scientes  
belissimi quos locus aut eas-  
sus coniunxerat: orbes sa-  
cere.

Atque ita ab oibus parti-  
bus simul et recti et iinstru-  
ti hostium vim sustinabat.

Neque ieo tamquam aspero nego-  
tio Marius territus: aut  
magis quam ante dimisso a-  
nimis fuit: sed cum turma  
sua (quam ex fortissimis;

were harde and contrary to the romayns: for they knewe nat  
the coostes of that countrey. Marius anone had vnderstan-  
dyng of the coming of his ennemis by many of his espyes:  
but it was ouerlate. For assone as he had wozde: his ennemis  
were euyn at hande. In somoch that before the army coude  
be set in order or array: and or they coude remoue or gather tog-  
yder their baggage which at that tyme was abrode: and be-  
fore they coude take any comauement of their captayne by  
wozde or sounde of trumpettes: The horsemen of the Mauri-  
ans and of the Getulians ran togyder vpon them nat in or-  
der nor array of batayle: but by companyes and bendes togy-  
der / as it fortuned them to come togyder in heapes and clus-  
ters. The romayns for the moost part: were al amased and  
greuously abashed for that sodayne and unprovided feare.  
Neverthelesse they forgat nat their olde manhode & strenght  
Some dwue them to their armour: and other some whiche were  
armed alredy defended their felowes tyl they armed theselſe.  
Other some mounted on horsebacke and boldly rode agaynst  
their ennemis: and encouerted them balyantly. The fyght  
on both parties was moze lyke a skirmyſche among brigans-  
des and rouers than to any apoynted or ordred batayle. For  
the horsemen & footemen were mengled togyder without stan-  
derdes/cognysances/or any ordynance/array/or order. The  
Maurians & Numidians were fierce on their syde. Some  
of the romayns they beat downe and ouerthrewe. Some they  
wounded mortally: And many they bereft utterly of their iyes/  
and slew them in that place. The remenant whiche shapely  
and manly resysted they compased them about on every  
syde: and as wel behynde as before assayled them: so that ney-  
ther manhode/strength/noz armour: was able sufficently to  
defende them: And no manuel for their ennemis were mo-  
nombre than they: and compased them about on every syde of  
them. But finally the romayne soudours whiche were bothe  
of olde and newe: and therfore bothe strong/bolde/and crafty  
in batayle: gathered them as neare togyder as they myght.  
And where it fortuned any nombre of them to mete togyder:  
they tourned backe to backe / & toynd them rounde one with  
an other in maner of a compase or cercle: and so they sauad &  
defended theſelſe togyder that on the backchalle no man  
coude assayle them: but yf he drake in throught the myddes of  
them whiche was in maner impossible. By this maner they  
sustayned the myght of their ennemis: and also sauad them-  
ſelſe. Nor their captayne Marius in this leopardous and  
sharpe besynes was nat affrayed at al/noz of leſſe cozage and  
boldnesse than he was beſore: but styrred about eury where

## of Jugurth.

Fo. lxxvi.

In the batayle. And his men of garde about hym whome he had chosen cather of the strongest and boldest men of the host/ than of such as were moost familiar with hym. For he set more by the audacite of them/ tha by the familiarite of the other: and namely in such a teopardous case. So tym he socoured his soudours in their nede/ or such as he sawe in paryl. And somtyme he can in amonge his ennemis: where they were thyrkest. And nat withstandyng their resystence he assayed them valiantly: and wounded/ slewe/ and ouerthwe them on euery syde he dyed his weapon in the reed blode of the blacke Mauriens and Getulens. And bycause that in so harde g case: and in so great and troublous noyse & rumour/ he coude nat counsel nor confort his soudours with his tong/ therfore he thought to counsel/ incorage/ and confort them with his hande/ gryuyng them example surely to bestowe their strokes. Many of his ennemis sende he to hel cryeng in bayne vpon their ydolles for helpe. The dattes/ tauclyns pykes/ plumets/ kes of leed/ stones/ with other suche instrumentes of batayle wch cast so thicke on both parties/ that the axye therwith was indymed. The strokes were so courstly charged on the bright helmes and hatnesse/ that the fyre sprange out on euery syde: so that it seemed to be the ipghenynge: the cry of the men dyeng: the neyeng of the hoxes: and the dyn of the strokes/ with the sounde of the trumpettes: was horribble and tedrous to here. Thus ccontinued they tyl the day lyght was passed/ and the nyght come. The numidians/ getulians/ and maurians desysted nor ceassed nothing for that. But as both Jugurth and Bocchus before had warned & comauanded them: they contynued more shartely than before/ thynking that the darkenesse of the nyght shulde be for their auantage. Marius this vnderstanding toke counsel & made best pusion for hymselfe & his men: whiche he myght in suche case: and as the mater required. And to thintent that his people myght haue some place to resoynt vnto/ for refuge & socours: he prouyded before and ocupyed two hylles nere togyder of whome the one was ouer natone/ & of lytel grounde to receyue his hole armys & tentes: but in the top therof was a fayre fountayne of pure water moch necessary. The other hyl was sufficietly large to receyue his hole host and tentes: and also very defensyue/ for it was of a great altitude and done right on euery syde. Insomuche that they whiche shulde take that hyl were sute ynough without great defence of themselves/ for nature had it sufficietly defended. This wel considered: Marius comauanded Sylla his vndercapten to take with hym al the horsmen: and to tary that nyght abour the smaller hyl where the fountayne was.

magis q̄ ex familiarissi-  
mis pauerat)

vagari passim: ac modo  
suis laboratibus succur-  
rere: modohostes/vbi cō-  
fertissimi obſliterant/in-  
uadere:

manu cōſulere milītribus:  
quoniam imperare cōtū-  
batis oībus non potesat.

Tamq; dies consumptus  
erat: cum ramen barbari  
nihil remitteret: atq; ut  
reges praeceperant: nocte  
pro se rati actius instare.

Tum Marus ex copia re-  
rum consilia trahit: atq;  
vti suis receptuſ locus es-  
set: colles duos propin-  
quos inter se occupat.  
Quoruſ in uno castris pa-  
tu ample ſons aquaꝝ ma-  
gnus erat: alter vſui o-  
portunior: quia magna  
parte editus et præceps/  
pauca munimenta geret.  
metand

Cæterum apud aquā Syl-  
lam cū equitibus noctem  
agitare iubet. Iple diſpa-  
ſos milites pāularim/nom-  
minus hostibꝫ cōturba-  
tis in vnum contrahit.

## The batayle

Deinde cūctos plenos gra-  
du in collēm subducit.  
Ita reges loci diffīcultas-  
te coacti/prālio deterre-  
tur; neq; tamen suos lon-  
gius abire sinunt. Sed  
vtroq; colle multitudine  
circundato/effusi conse-  
dere.

Deinde crebris ignibus  
factis plerūq; noctis bar-  
bari more suo latari: ex-  
ultare: strepere pedibus:  
vocibus: et ipsi reges fe-  
roces, & non fuderat pro  
victoribus agere.

Sed ea cūcta romanis ex  
tenebris editionibus los-  
ess facilia visu:magnog;  
hortamento erant.

Plurimum vero Marius  
imperitia hostium cōfir-  
matusq; maximum scilicet  
tum haberi iubet: ne sis-  
gnis quidem/vti per vigi-  
lias solebant/canere.  
Deinde ubi lux aduentabat:  
defessis iam hostibus/  
ac paulo ante somno ca-  
ptis: de improviso victi-  
gales: item cohortū tur-  
mārum:legionum tubicis-  
nes simul omnes tuba ca-  
nere:et milites clamore  
tollere:aut portis erum-  
pere.

This done: he hymselfe gathered togyder by lytel and lytel  
the remanent of his soudyours dispersed abrode: their enne-  
mies being nat lesse troubled than were they. Whan Marius  
had thus assembled agayne his men togyder he led them all  
with ful cours vp vnto the larger hyl. Thus the two kynges  
Jugurth & Bocchus seyng it in bayne to fyght with the whi-  
che were on the hyer grounde/and also on so sure a place: were  
cōstrayned to leaue the fyght: for difficultie of the place whiche  
the romayns had taken. But neuertheles in the meane tyme  
they suffred nat their men to depart faythens: but compased  
bothe the hylles rōud about with their hole multitude & there  
tarped & rested/shed abrode vpon the ground. Whan they had  
taken their place in this maner: they made great fiers here &  
there in many places of their hoost: and the barbarians after  
their custome passed forth the most part of the night in myȝth/  
pleasure & gladnes/reiosing/daunsyng: and making great  
noyse and dyn:rennyng and goying from place to place: and  
loudly crieng/synging and reuellyng. The kynges themselfe  
were also nat a lytel proude and feare: bcause they had nat  
fled from the batayle: and counted themselves as ouercomers  
seyng that they helde the romayns so besieged whiche as they  
thought durst nat abyde them. On the other part the romains  
intelyly gaue aduertes to the demeanour of their ennemis.  
And for that the romayns were on the hyght of the hyl and  
without lyght: therfore more easie from darknesse of hyer pla-  
ces they parceyued al the dedes and behauour of their enne-  
mies whiche were beneath them: and moch more euidently by  
light of the fyres. This vnywys behauour of the numidiens  
put the romayns in great confort and was great courage to  
them. And specially Marius was greatly consermed in hope  
seyng their negligence/their folly/ and vncraftinesse: wher-  
fore he comaundered his folke to kepe sylence as styl as might  
be possible without any noyse. In somoche that he suffred nat  
the trūpetes to soude the watche: as wartyours at wont aga-  
ynst night. Afterwarde whan the day began to apere: the nu-  
midiens were al weryed w their cryeng/ouerlate watchyng/  
and reuel: and had gyuen thesselfe to rest a lytel before as men  
without feare or dout of þ romayns. But certenly it is a true  
puerbe whiche is often sayd: that after fayre wether succeedeth  
tepestious cloudes: and aft myȝth & toye often cometh sadnes  
and sorowe. So it hapened to the numidyens. For whyle they  
ingorged & fylled with wyneslay slepyng on the grounde as  
beestes without fere & without puision: Marius comaundered  
sodenly all his trumperes & clarionistes with other mynstrels  
to sound their instrumentes as shysle as they coude altogider

and that al his soudyours shulde set vp a shout or cry as horribly as they myght: and with that inuade and bryke into the tentes of the numidynes. This was shewly done: wherfore the numidynes / mauritens / & getultens astonyed and abashed with that vnknownen and horryble noyse: were sodenly awakened of sleape: and leyng them thus cōpased with their ennemis: what for feare of deth; and of the noyse they were so amased that they had no power neyther to fle nor to drawe to them their armour nor vterly to do or prouide any maner socour for themselves. Thus they stode astonyed for this horrible noyse and cry as yf madnesse had entred them: none able to socour hymselfe nor other. The romayns alway increased to them their noyse and feare assayling / murding / and woundyng them without any resystence. Finally al they were ouerther overthowen slayne or wounded: or els fled their armes / standarde and weapen left behynde them: and mo were in this batayle slayne than in al the batels before. For amonge them al none was taken p̄soner: for with feare and sleape so amased were they that fewe escaped by flight.

**C**Of the great prouysion and wyldeome of Ma-  
rius after his victory: and of the seconde batayle  
which he had agaynst the two kynges/in which  
also he had great vyctory with laude & honour.

**C**The. lviij. Chapyter.

**U**han Marius had gloriouly thus ouercome the moost part of his ennemis except the two kynges: he dwie hym than towardes his wynning places as he had purposed before. And oþred hymselfe & his men specially in hauen townes bycause of more easy pusion of bytels: but neuertheles: in his iournay thiderwarde: for al his victory: he became nat negligent/bnware nor proude: as captayns often at wone aft victory gotten of their ennemis: but he puided and went forwardre with his army quadrat and deuided into four partes oþred & apoynted as if his ennemis had ben in his sight Sylla was assignd to take charge of the ryght wyng of the army and al the spear men with hym. And Iulus Manlius of the lyft wyng. And with hym the syngars / archers / & the cohortes of Lumbardes. The peticapitayns with fotemen of lyght harnessse: were distributed and dyuided in the vants garde and rewarde. Of the tecatours whiche had forsaken Jugurth and came to the romayns: such as were best labous

Mauri atque getuli igno-  
to atq; horribili sonitu  
repente exciti/neque fu-  
gere/neq; arma capere ne-  
q; omnino facere/aut pro-  
uidere quicq; poterat: ita  
cunctos strepitu/clamore/  
(nullo subueniente) n̄is in-  
stantibus) tumultu:terro-  
re: formidine : quasi ves-  
cordia acceperat.

Deniq; omnes fusi suga-  
tiq; arma et signa milita-  
ria pleraq; capta: plures  
q; in eo prælio q; omnibus  
superioribus interempti  
sunt. Nam sono et metu  
insolito impedita fuga,

**D**EINDE MARCUS/ vti  
ceperat/ inhiberna-  
it propter commea-  
tum, in oppidis maritatis  
mis agere decreuit: ne-  
que tamē victoria secors  
aut insolens factus: sed  
pariter ac si in conspectu  
hostium quadrato agmisi-  
ne incedere.

Sylla cū equitatu apud  
dextimos: in sinistra par-  
te Aulus Manlius cū fun-  
ditoribus et sagittarijs:  
præterea cohortes ligus-  
rum curabat. Primos et  
extremos cum expeditis  
manipulis tribunos loca-  
uerat. Per fugæ regior

## The batayle

num scientissimi hostium  
iter explorabant. Simul  
consul i quasi nullo impo-  
sito omnia prouidere; a-  
pud omnes adesse: lauda-  
re fortis: et icrepare mœ-  
rentis. Ipse armatus in-  
tensusq. Item milites co-  
gebat; neq; secus atq; iter  
faceret; ultra munire: ex-  
cubitum in porta cohortes  
ex legionibus: pro ca-  
stris equites auxiliarios  
mittere: præterea alios i-  
munitis sup vallum  
locare: vigilias ipse circu-  
ire: non tamen diffidentia fu-  
eturum: quæ imperauisset  
q; ut multibus exequas-  
tus cum imperatore la-  
bor volentibus esset.

Et sane Mari⁹ illo alijs-  
q; tpibus jugurthini bel-  
li mag; pudore q; malo ex-  
ercitum coercerat: at: quod  
multi p; abitionē aiebant:  
alijsq; a pueritia cōsuetā  
duritiā: & alijsque ceteri  
miserias vocāt: volupta-  
ti habuisset: nisi tñ reip.  
pariter ac sauvissimo imp-  
io bene atq; decore oīage  
sta sunt.

Igitur quarto deniq; die  
haud lōge ab oppido Cir-  
tha vndiq; simul specula-  
tores citi se se ostendunt.

red and knewe best the contrey were chosen forth and sent out  
to espy the contrey and wayes of Jugurth & Bocchus. But  
nat withstandyng Marius hymselfe was as prouident / cir-  
cuspect / and diligent withal: as if he had comyted the charge  
to none other. He was mouyng continually from place to place  
ouer all the army: laudyng / cōmendyng / and rewardyng the  
good soudyo's: and blamyng and rebukyng the bad he hym  
selfe armed / and diligently prouidyng and ministeryng unto  
them euery thyng necessary and expedient: and copelled them  
that were stowarde and ylwillynge to labour. In euery place  
where he set his tentes in his icurnay: he ordred defence with  
depe dyches and trenches rounde about his hooft. And in the  
entres of the tentes he assigned soudyo's elect thereto to kepe  
watch and some to kepe scourwatch about the tentes in com-  
passe. Moreouer some other he ordred on the castynge of the  
byches and on ourwarde bulwarkes to defende the remanent  
if any sodayne peryll apert. He hymselfe armed ynglytly wēt  
about and serched the watch. Nat specially for any feare nor  
mystrust of any paryl to come nor for feare that his soudy-  
ours wold nat obey his comandement. But specially to then-  
tent that the loundyours sayng their captayne nat resulyng la-  
bour nor paryl: shuld be also more wylling to folowe the same  
and to take Payne vpon themselves as ashamed if they dyd nat  
asmoch as their captayn. And certenly at this tyme & at many  
other during this warre (as I rede) Marius cōstrayned his  
soudyo's to labour rather for shame thā wsharpenes or puni-  
shement. For shame it is to the servant to be ydle whā the mai-  
ster soze laboreth. Howbeit some sayd that Marius toke this  
labour vpon hym for the desyre of cōmendacion & worshyp:  
bycause that frō his youth he was ever won̄ with hardnesse/  
hunger / thirst / and labour: and many other thynges whiche  
the delicate gentylmen of our tyme count for miseries. But  
to Marius were these hardnesse moche pleasure and delyte  
for affection whiche he had agaynst the commen wayle / as  
equal persones supposed. But to what euer intent Marius:  
treated his army in this wyle: it was knownen that his dedes  
dyd asmoche profet and worshyp to the commen wayle of Ro-  
me: as if he had more rigorously and sharply treated his  
soudyours. For al thynges were ordred wel and worshyp for  
the honour and profet of the commen wayle: as if he had mos-  
te rigorously treated his army.

But to retourne to my purpose: whan Marius with suche  
dyligence as sayd is: was come nat far from the towne of  
Cirtha/ at the last the fourth day after the forsayd batayle: the  
espys of their ennemis appered on eucry syde. The romais

understode anone therby that their ennemis were at hande. The esppes of the romains also which were sende forth: bzo: sought the same tidynges from euery coost of the countrey. Matrius perceyued that his ennemis were in diuerse cōpanyes and deuided: wherfore he was vncertayne howe he myght best order his hoost to receyue them: And therfore perceiving it vsure: how to order the forftont of his batayle as it ought: he abode his ennemis in the same place no order chaunged with his hoost deuyded in. iiiiii. partes (as sayd is) as he whiche was redy and prouyde for every chace. Thus was Jugurth disceyued and frustrate of his purpose. For he had deuyded his hoost into four partes trustyng to inuade some of the romayns on the backehalfe with parte of his armē: and with an other parte to encouter with them / and with the other two partes to enclose them on both the sydes: and so to enuyron them rounde about. In the meantyme Sylla which first encountered with Jugurth exhortēd & exhortēd his men as wel as he myght for breuite of the tyme. That done: anone he proceeded with his company by bendes & clustres togidre / their horses coniorned in the moost thyckest maner: and so fierlē assayled the Mautians. The remanent of the fotemen whiche were vnder Sylla: remayned and kept themselves styl in their first place: and defended their bodyes from the darras whiche their ennemis throughe agaynst them from farre. But if it chaunsed any of their ennemis to come byt wene their han des: they herwed them downe to decease the nombre.

**C**Whyle Sylla and his ho:smen thus fierlē were fightryng on the right wyng of the batayle: The kyng Bocchus assem bled togidre the fotemen whome his son named Molur had brought thyder with hym. These fotemen had suche impediment in their tourney thyderwarde that they came ouerlate to the other batayle whiche was last foughten before this. Wherfore Bocchus: whan he had assembled & inbolded with his wordis these tresche fotemen: with them he assayled fierlē the rewarde of the romayns.

**C**In the meane tyme Marius hymself was occupied in the forwarde of his hoost and there employē his wyldeome and strength: as a valyant and worthy captayne: and so stode it hym in hande. For in the forwarde Jugurth hymself with his grettest power & strōgest cōpany of men inbatayled with hym. **C**But after that Jugurth knewe of the comyng of Bocchus to the felde: anone he turned hym with a smal cōpany about hym priuily vnto the fotemen of the romayns: and there with an hye boylse he cried vnto them saying that they fought but in bayne. For alytel before he had slayne Marius

Quare hostis adesse stet legitur. Sed quia diuersi redeuntes alias ab alia parte atque omnes idem significabunt: consul incertus quonāmodo aciē instrueret: nullo ordine cōmutato: aduersum cia paratus ibidem opperit.

Ita Jugurtha spes fru strata qui copias in qua tuor partes distribuerat: ratus ex oibus aequa ali os ab tergo hostibus ven turos.

Interim Sylla quem pri mun hostes attigerat: co horratus suos turmatim: q̄ maxie conierris equis ipse alijs mauros inua dunt:

Cateri in uno loco manes ab iaculis eminus et missis corpora tegere: et si qui in manus venerant/ obtruncare.

Dū eo modo equites pra liantur: Bocchus cum pedibus/ quos Volux filius eius adduxerat/ neque in priore pugna in itine re morati affuerant: pos stremam aciem romanorum inuadit:

Tū Marius apud primos agebat: q̄'ibi Jugurtha cum plurimis erat.

Deinde numida/cognito Bocchi aduentu/ clam cū paucis ad pedites cōuertit: latine (nam apud numidiam loqui didicerat) exclamat: n̄os fru stra pugnare: ante paulo Marium sua manu inter

## The batayle

fectū: si mul gladium san-  
guine oblitum ostendere:  
quem in pugna satis im-  
pigre occiso pedite nō  
cruentauerat. Quod vbi  
milites accepere magis;  
atrocitate rei q̄ fide nūn-  
tij terrētur: simulq; bar-  
bari animos extoltere et  
in perculsus actius inten-  
dere.

Iamq; paululū a fuga ab-  
erant cum Sylla ( profla-  
gatis his quos aduersum  
ierat ) rediens mauris ab  
latere incurrit.

Bocchus statim auertitur.  
At Iugurtha dum susten-  
tare suosset prope tā ad-  
eptam victoriam retine-  
re cupit: circumuētus ab  
equitibus dextra sinistra  
que omnibus occisis: fo-  
lus inter tela histium vis-  
tabundus erupit.

Atq; interim Marius fu-  
gatis equitibus occurrit  
auxilio suis quos pelli-  
am acceperat.

Deniq; hostes iam vndiq;  
fusi sunt: tum spectacu-  
lum horribile in campis  
patentibus:

Sequi/fugere/occidi/ ca-  
pi/sequi atque viri affi-  
cti: ac multi vulneribus

with his owne handes. And in cryeng these wordes he lyfted  
up wthal and shewed his swerde al ouersprincled and dyed  
with blode: whiche he had so cououred in the batayle fierly  
ynough in murding the foremen of the romayns. These wor-  
des Jugurth cryed in latyn tong. For he had lerned to speke  
latyn longe before in the batayle of Numaunce. Whan the ro-  
mayns herde these wordes they were affrayed / but more for  
crueltie of the noyse: than for any confidence or trust whiche  
they had to the messanger. But on þ other syde the myndes of  
the barbariens wch holded & cralld by these wordes: by rea-  
son wherof more sharply they inuaded the romayns/seyngs  
them abashed & astonyed. And nowe were the romains of the  
forwarde at that poynþ that they were redy to gyue themselfe  
to flyght: as men dyscouraged for the sayd tidynges.

Whan they were at this poynþ: it fortuned so at the same  
tyme that Sylla had beaten and ouerthronen the mauriens  
which inuaded and assayled hym on the right wyng of the ba-  
tayle: wherfore he retourned to his company & fierly assayled  
the fresshe foremen which wch with Bocchus/and at one syde  
brake in amonge the thyckest of them. But Bocchus anone  
tourned his backe: and gaue hymselfe to flyght.

On the other syde Jugurth which in his part of the batayle  
almost had optayned victory dyd his diligence to incoura-  
ge & support his company: and to mentayne that auantage whic-  
he had won. And at conclusion al in bayne. For whyle he la-  
boured there about as a worthy captayne: the spear men of the  
romayns so copased hym & his company about both on þ right  
syde & on the lyft: that al his garde & other whiche were about  
hym at conclusion were slayne. But he hymselfe glad to saue  
his lyfe/broke forth alone from among þ myddes of his enne-  
mies: and from wepyngs and hartes with great difficulty.

But in the meane tyme Marius had overcome & driven  
away the horsmen which assayled hym. Wherfore anone he re-  
turned fierly to helpe and socours of his company whome he  
understode somewhat put backe by violēce of their ennemis.  
But he by his policy and valiant dedes anone so reconforted  
his men that none of his ennemis were able to withstande  
their violence in any part of that batayle.

Thus finally the romayns after great labour and many  
greuous woundes disconfited their ennemis on euery syde.  
But whan the batayle was ended and the romayns began to  
pursue the chase: than verily it was a pytefull and horrible  
lyght to beholde in the open feldes and to consyder the cruel  
spectacle of batayle. Howe some fled: Some pursued / some  
inraged murding / some tored dyeng / some slayne / some ta-  
ken prisoners.

ken prisoners. The horse and men mengled togyder: labou-  
ring in the panges of deth. The ground ouerspred with deed  
corpses mangled/mutulate/and horribly hewyn:inuolued in  
blode cōgeled. The horse wounded:as mad drewe after them  
the deed carcases of their maisters / their legges hangyng in  
the styropes / and their speares halfe thorowe their bodyes  
trayling after in the dust. The coursers wounded and fleyning  
cast vp with their fete the dust tempered with blode rennyng  
ouer the deed bodyes of their lordes. Many of the Numidites  
which were soze wounded coude neyther sle: noz be suffred to  
take rest on the grounde. Somtyme they laboured to rysle &  
auoyde:and anone after for feblenes fel downe to the ground  
agayne:ecche towlyng & turning in other blode. And finally:  
as far as any mannes syght myght extende / al the grounde  
was ouerspred and couered with armour/wepen/and deed  
carpons rennyng of blode. And al the ground infect with the  
same / horryble to beholde. . . .

**C**howe Bocchus after that he was thus twyse  
ouercom in batel/purposed to make peace with the romains:  
and howe at his request Marius sende vnto hym Sylla  
and Manlius to knowe his mynde in that behalfe.

**C**hapter. Iviij. Chapiter.

**A**ffer that this batel Was thus ended to  
the bitter damage & destruction of the Numidians: and to the laude & honour of the romains.  
Marius was nowe without dout ouercomer &  
victour and went vnto the towne of Cirtha as  
his tourney and purpose was at first begynnyng before these  
two batayls. Whan Marius had soiourned there syue dayes  
aft this bataple: there came vnto hym embassado's frō kyng  
Bocchus. Whiche in their kyngi behalfe desyzed of Marius  
to sende vnto hym two of the most trusty men whiche he had:  
saying that he wold comen & treate with them of dyuers besy-  
nesses both for his owne profet & for pfect & auantage of the ro-  
mans also. Marius without tary sende forth Sylla for one:  
and Iulus Manlius for an other. Whan they were come to  
kyng Bocchus: howbeit he had sende for them to comen with  
them in his maters. Neuertheles it was concluded bytwene  
them to speke to hym fist to therent to kyndell and inflame  
his mynde the more agaynst Jugurth: or els seyng hym som-  
what desyrous and wylling to haue peace to prouoke hym w  
more desyze thereto. Wherfore Sylla (to whom Manlius ga-  
ue place nat for his age / but for his eloquence) began & spake  
to Bocchus in maner:as foloweth. . . .

Jugurth.

O.i.

acceptis neq; fugere pos-  
sc: neq; quietem pati:

niti modo ac statim con-  
cidere:

Postremo omniaqua vi-  
sus erat/constrata telis /  
armis/cadaveribus / & in  
tere humus infecta san-  
guine.

**P**oste loci cōsul haud  
dubie iā victor perue-  
nit in oppidū Cyrthā:  
quo in initio prosectorū i-  
tēderat: eo post quintū di-  
em quā iterū barbari ma-  
le pugnauerant legati a  
Boccho veniunt qui regis  
verbis ab Mario petierer  
duos q̄ fidissimos ad eum  
mittere: velle de suo et  
de populi romani cōmo-  
do cum his disserere. Il-  
le statim Lucium Syllā /  
& Aulum Manliū ire iu-  
bet. Qui q̄q acciti ibant/  
tamen placuit verba a-  
pud regem faceret: quo ins-  
genium aut aduersum fle-  
xerent: aut cupidum pa-  
cis vehemētius accende-  
rent.

Itaq; Sylla cuius facun-  
diaz non etati a Manlio  
concessum est: verba pau-  
ca huiuscmodi locutus  
est.

## The batayle

¶ Of the wordes of Sylla tresoure r of the romayne army had before kyng Bocch<sup>9</sup>. The.lit.cha.

**R**Ex Bocche magna nobis læticia est: cū te talē virūdij mos nuere: vt aliquādo pacē q̄ bellū malles: neu te optimū cum pessimo oīm Jugurtha misce ndō cōmāculates. Simul nobis demeres acerbam necessitu dinem: pariter et te errā tem et illum sceleratissimum p̄sequi. Ad hoc populo romano iam a principio inopi: melius visū amicos q̄ seruos quætere. tutiusq; rati volentibus q̄ coactis imperitate.

Tibi vero nulla opportu nior amicitia nostra: primum q̄ procul absumus in quo offendē minimum est: et gratia parac si pro ppe adessemus. deinde q̄ p z̄tes abunde habemus.

Amicorum neq; nobis ne que cuiq; hoīm satis fuit. Atque hoc utinam tibi a principio placuissest: profecto ex populo romano ad hoc tēpus multo plus ra bona accepissest: q̄ mas la percessus essemus.

Sed quoniam humanarū rerum fortuna p̄era que regit: cui scilicet placuit vim et gratiam nostram te experiri: nunc quoniam per illam licet festina atq; vti cōpisti perge.

Multa opportuna habes: quo facilius errata offi cijs superes.

**I**n ḡ Bocchus we haue great gladnes and ioye syth it is so that the goddes haue thus admonished & emspired you so noble a man that at last ye haue reputed peace better & more acceptable than way: lest ye myghe dishonest & defyle your worthynesse by associating your selfe to the moost unhappy tyran Jugurth. And also we are glad that ye haue auoyded the occasion & necessite: wherby we were moued to pursue in batayle: you beyng ignorant of our quarel: and in the cōpany of h̄sayd most cursed Jugurth tyran & ennemy to thempye of Rome. And certenly þ people of Rome ever syth their poore simple & smal begynning haue thought it better to wyn freedes than seruantes or bondmen and also they haue thought it a moch surer thyng to haue vnder their empire luche as wyllyng & of their owne mocion wolde yelde thēselfe: than such as they haue cōstrayned thereto agaynst their wyl. But verily no frendshyp is more necessary to you than our amyte or frendshyp. At first of al: because we and ye be satte in sonder: wherby we shal haue les power to greue you or to put you to any charge: by reason of our frendshyp. But our fauour & thankes may be as ready to you: as il we were nere togidre: cōsidering the many & great frendes whiche we haue nat far from your marches. And also vnto thempye of Rome be obeyers / subgettess & seruantes abundantly. But as touchyng louers & frendes we nor none other can haue sufficienly ynough. For this consideracion kynge Bocchus your frēdshyp shalbe more acceptable vnto hs. And wolde god it had pleased you thus to haue done at the begynning of this way. Forsooth if ye had so done: than shulde ye before this tyme haue receyued of the romayns mo cōmodites/ auantages/ and good dedes than ye haue nowe suffred losses/ damages/ or hurtes. But whyle it is so that mannes dedes & besynesses (for the moost part) be ruled by fortune: to whiche fortune it hath pleased that ye shuld both proue and assay our myght and violence in batayle: and also our loue & fauour in peace: Therfore nowe syth amytie is profferred to you by suffraunce of fortune: and syth it is lawful to you to take it: be nat slowe from hens forwarde/but hastely procede as ye haue bengon: that ye may proue the romayns frendes to you lyke as ye haue proued them ennemis before this tyme. Ye haue many expedient oportunites & necessary cōmodites by whome ye may make amendes wþ your good dedes for that ye haue offendēd agaynst the romayns & ouerpasse your olde fautes with

newe kyndneses and benefites: and finally fit this in your  
herte that ye or any other shal never ouercome the peple of Ro-  
me with kyndnes or good dedes. And as touchyng their  
hatered/and of what myght they ar in batayle: ye your selfe  
knowe that by profe & experiance. Wherfore procede in acqui-  
ring of their frendshyp: whiche gladly shalbe graunted unto  
you/ if your merites shal so delectue. .:.

**C**Of the answeare of Bocchus made to Syllat  
and of the vnlabilenesse of mynde of the same  
Bocchus. **C**The.lx.chapyter.

**B**These wordes of Sylla answered  
Bocchus mylde ly and soberly: and a fewe wor-  
des he speake in excusing his offence done agayne  
the romayns / sayeng that he had nat taken ar-  
mout nor begon way agaynst them as enemys to  
do iniury or wrong vnto them: but to defende his owne kyng,  
dome. And that the thirde part of Numidy belonged vnto  
hym by lawe of armes: of the whiche the romayns laboured to  
expel Jugurth. And in that droyng they distroyed his part of  
the contrey: whiche he coude nat fuffer vntreuenged. More,  
ouer Bocchus sayd for hymselfe that he had sende vnto Ro-  
me before to require ampte and frendshyp of the romayns:  
whiche thing vnto hym was denyed. But at conclusion he sayd:  
that he wolde omyle & lay a part al olde malyre & that althyng  
shulde be done and agreed byt wene them: yf Marius wolde  
graunt hym that his embassadours might besende to Rome:  
for the sayd frendship to be cōfederate with y romains. Upon  
this answeare Sylla & his felawe retourned to Marius wht  
che anone agreed y the same embassado's shuld be set to Ro-  
me. But shortly after: what tyme Jugurth vnderstode of the  
cōmpyng of Sylla & Manlius he feared the same thyng/wht  
che was ordend & in hande. And anone wō rewardes so he cor-  
rupted the frendes of Bocchus: that agayn they chaūged his  
mynde with their counsel: so mutable and variable was he  
of mynde. .:.

**C**how Bocchus chaūged his purpose yet ones  
agayne: and sende newe embassadours to Ma-  
rius to treat of the peace: and howe Sylla recey-  
ued and treated them in absence of Marius.

**C**The.lxi.chapyter.

Jugurth.

D.ii.

postrēo hæc in pectus tua  
um demitte: nunq̄ popu-  
lum romanum beneficijs  
victum esse. Nam bello  
q̄ valeat tute scis.

**A**Dea Botchus plas-  
cide et benigne/sia-  
mul pauca pro deo-  
licito suo verba facit: se nō  
hostili aio/sed ad regnū  
tutandum arma cepisse.  
Nam Numidiae partem/  
vnde Iugurtham expul-  
rit/ire belli suam factam:  
eam vastari a Mario pati  
nequivisse.

Præterea missis antea ro-  
mam legatis/repulsū ab  
amicitia. Cæterum vete-  
ra omittere: actus si per  
Marium liceret/legatos  
ad senatum missurum.

Deinde copia facta mit-  
tendi/animus barbari ab  
amicis flexus/ quos Ju-  
gurtha(cognita legatio-  
ne Syllæ et Manlii)metuo-  
ens id/quod parabat/do-  
nis corruperat.

ac 45

## The batayle

Marius interea exercitu in hibernis cōposito, cū expeditis cohortib⁹ et pte equitatu p̄ficietur in loca solita/obscellū turtim regiam: quo Jugurtha per fugas oēs præsidium imposuerat. Tum rursus Bocchus scilicet erga romāos seu reputando/quæ sibi duabus prælijs euenerat: seu monitus ab alijs amicis quos Jugurtha incorruptos renquerat/ ex onni copia necessariorum quæsi de legit: quorū et tides cognita/ et i genia validissima erat. Eos ad Marium: ac deinde si placet/Romam legatos ire iubet: agendarum rerum et quocunq; modo belli componendi licēiam permittit. illi mature ad hiberna romanorum profiscuntur. Deinde in itinere a Gerulis latronib⁹ circumuenti spoliatiique pauidi sine decore ad syllam protugūt: quem consul in expeditionem proficiens pro prætore reliquerat. Eos ille nō provanis hostibus vt meriti erāt/sed liberaliter habuit.

Quare barbar⁹ et famam romanorū auaritiae falsam et Syllam ob munificentiam in se ē amicum esse rati sunt. Nā etiam tū largitio multis ignora erat. munificus etiam nemo putabatur nisi patriter volens dona omnia ī benignitate habebant.

Igitur quāstori manda ta Bocchi patesciant: simul ab eo petūt: vt fau-

**S**o the meane tyme Marius set and ordred his hoost in their wyrting places & toke hym such men as were of lyght harnessse: and also a part of his horsemen: & with them went into a desart nat faythens/to besiege a certayne towre belongyng to Jugurtha: into whiche towre the sayd Jugurtha had put for garnison & defence: al the treato's which had forsaken & fled from the romayns to Jugurtha. But in the mean whyle Bocchus of new agayne colydred in mynde the misfortune whiche had hapened to hym i the two batayls before. Or els by counsel of some other of his frendes: whome Jugurtha had nat corrupted with rewardis: he chose forth among al v. men whose fidelite & trueth he had wel knownen & often proued before: and whose wylde dome was most expert & ready. Them sende he to Marius: & comauied them afterwarde if the master required as embassado's to take their way to Rome: and committed to them his ful autorite in every thyng whiche was to be done: and to conclude the war by what euer maner shuld seme best/and moost expedient to their discretion. These embassadours toke leue & spedely toke their tourney to the places where the romayns sotourned the wynter season. But whyle they weyr i their tourney thiderwarde: they were assayled of theues of the getulians/and robbed & spoyled of al that they had about them. Thus at last without worshyp or apparel: all affrayed & abashed they fled vnto Sylla for refuge. This Sylla was left by Marius in the wynteryng places: to be ruler of the romayne armys in his absence. What tyme these embassado's: thus spoyled were come to Sylla for refuge / he receyued them nat fayntly as bayne & vnstable enemis as they deserued: but curtesyly with moch gentylnes & liberalite / treatynge them in al popentes honorably. By this meanes these barbaryas & rude people counted and supposed that the name of couetyse/ whiche was imputed vnto the romayns by comen fame was but false & fayned of their enemis/ to distayne their honour. And also for the moch liberalite of Sylla: they counted hym as their special frende. So yet vnto that tyme: the accloyeng of gyftes gyuen for rewardes for policy & fallyode to ouercōe couectous or simple myndes/ was unkno wen vnto many. No man was liberal i gyftis: but that he was thought & couētēd to be faythful of hert withal. Thus the barbarians reputed the liberte & rewardis of Sylla to be a great & evident token of loue whiche he had to them: as they demed. But to our purpose: the embassadours anone opened & declared to Sylla the wyl & comauendement of Bocchus thei kyng: gyuen to them to be executed: And also they

required hym to be vnto them a frendly fauouret & counseles  
lour in their besynesse. Farthermore with their wordes and  
spech they comended & exalted the army / the trueth / the great-  
nes & excellencie of their kyng: and al other thyngs which they  
thought might auapple them to optayne benyuolence of the ro-  
manys. After they remayned with Sylla about the space of  
xi. dayes: whiche graunted them al his helpe and socour and  
also in the mean space ensoumed them in what maner they  
shulde order their wordes whan they shulde speke with Ma-  
rius / and also before the senatours at Rome.

**C**how Marius harde them bassadors of Boc-  
chus & sende them to Rome: and how they were  
answering of the senatours. **C**The. lxii. chapyter.



**M**the mean tyme Marius whiche  
was in assaut of the kynges towre coude nat  
perfourme his enterprize. Wherfore he retour-  
ned againe to Cirrhæ: anone was he certified  
of comyng of the imbassadors of Bocchus.  
Wherfore he comauinded them & Sylla also  
to come before hym: and also he called togyder all the moost  
worthy men of his hole hoost from every place. Before them  
al presently he comauinded the imbassadors of Bocchus to  
reherse the petycion of their kyng (which rehersed & harde) it  
was graunted vnto them to go Rome for the same poyntes.  
And of Marius was truesse required in the meane tyme by  
twene Bocchus and hym. Sylla with many other noble me  
were pleased withall. If ewe other fiersly and sharply couisels  
led other wyle: as men without pyte and ignorant of others  
harde fortune whiche whan it begynneth to be frowarde and  
contrary: it tourmeth every thyng to aduersyte.

**C**But whan þ mauriens had obtayned of Marius altheir  
desyre: thre of them went to Rome with onenamed Octaup-  
us Rufo: whom Marius had assigned to conuey the thyder  
This Octaupus Rufo was sende before from Rome into Af-  
rike to Marius with wages for the soudyours. The other  
two imbassadoris of Bocchus returned home agayne to their  
kyng: whiche of them gladly harde of the good report whiche  
they made of the Romayns in every poynt: and specially of  
the good wyl / lyberalite / and courtesye of Sylla.

**C**But whan the other thre imbassadors were come to Rōe  
they aperte before the senatours and in the humblest wyle þ  
they coude devise / dyd their message excusyng their kynges:

Jugurth.

D.iii.

tor consultorq; sibi adsit.  
copias/fidem/magnitudinem  
regis suis et alia quæ  
aut utilia: aut beneuolen-  
tia esse credebant: orati-  
one extollunt.

Deinde Sylla omnia pol-  
licito : doctiq; quomodo  
apud Marium: item apud  
senatum verba facerent:  
circiter dies ibidem. xl.  
opperiuntur.

**M**Arius postq; infecto  
negotio/quintide  
rat/redit Cyrthā:&  
de aduētu legatorū certi  
or fact⁹ est illosq; & Syllā  
ab Utica venire iubet itē-  
q; Luciū Bellienum præ-  
torē, præterea omnes vni-  
dique senatorij ordinis:  
quibuscum mādata Boc-  
chi cognoscit: in quis le-  
gatis potestas eundi Ro-  
mam fit: et ab consule in  
terea inducæ postulatur.

Ea Syllæ et plerisq; pla-  
cuere. pauci ferocius de-  
cernunt/ignari rerum hu-  
manarum: quæ fluxæ et  
mobiles semper in aduer-  
sa mutantur.

Cæterum mauri/impera-  
tis omnib; rebus/tres Ro-  
mam profecti/cum Cneo  
Octauiu Rufo: qui quæ-  
stor stipendium in Aphri-  
ca portauerat. Duo ad  
regē redeunt. Ex his Boc-  
chus cum cætera: tū ma-  
xime benignitatē: et stu-  
dium Syllæ libens acces-  
pit. Romæq; legatis eius,  
postq; errasse regem et Ju-  
gurthæ scelere lapsū dep-

## The batayle

cati sunt: amicam et sœdus potentibus hoc modo respondetur.

Senatus et populus romanus beneficij et iniuriae memor esse solet.

Cæterum Boccho quoniā pœnitent delictū gratiam facit. sedus et amicitia dabūtur cā meruerit.

**V**is rebus cognitis Bocchus pliteras a Mario petuit/vt Sillam ad se mittet. Cuius arbitratu de negotijs cōmuni bus cōsulereſ. Is mil⁹ cū p̄sidio exquitū atq; peditū: nē funditox et battistarioꝝ. Preterea iere sagittarij: & cohors peligna cū velitaribus armis itineris proptidī causaneq; sec⁹ his/atq; alijs armis aduersū teſla hostiūg ea leuia ſūt muniti erant. Sed in itinere / quinto denique die / Volux filius Bocchi repente in campis patenti⁹ cum mille non amplius equiti⁹ ſeſe ostendit: qui temere et effuse cūntes / Syllæ alijsq; omnibus et numerum ampliorēm: et hostilem metum efficiebant. Igif ſe quisque expedire: arma atq; tela tentare: intendere: timor aliquātus: ſed ſpes amplior: quippe victori⁹ bus et aduersū eos / quos ſaſe vicerant. Interim equites exploratum premissi rem / vt erat quietā

and confeſſyng that he had offendēd agaynst the empyre nat by his owne ſekyng: but by the cursed faut prouocation / and inſtigation of Jugurth: wherof their kynge ſore repented. Wherfore in his behalfe at conclusyon they besought the ro- mayns of pardon / amyte / and peace. Than was it brefely anſwered to them in this maner.

**C**he ſenatours and people of Rome: is wont to remembre both the kyndneſſe and benifytes of their frēdes: and alſo the inſurpēs of their ennemis. But ſy whole Repēteth and forthyns keth Bocchus of his trespas: grace and pardon of his offence is graunted vnto hym. Peace and amyte ſhalbe alſo graun- ted vnto hym hereafter / whan he ſhall ſo deſerue.

**C**how Marius ſent Sylla agayne to Bocchus at his desyre: and what danger the ſame Sylla escaped by helpe of Volux / ſon of kyng Bocchus.

**C**he. lxiii. chapyter.

**V**han Bocchus vnderſtoode althene thin- ges: he deſpred Marius by his letters to ſende vnto hym Sylla: to thentent þ after his aduyle & diſcretion couſel might be had of the cōmen be ſynelle to bothe parties belōgyng. Sylla anone was ſend forth w a great retynue of fotemen & horſemē: with diuerſe weapon & ſtronge defēce as archars / ſlyngars / with otherlike. And to thynet to ſpede their tourney mox hauſtely: they were al armed wlightest harnes which coude be puide but for al the lightenes of their armour it was deſelife ynough agaynst the weapyns of the mauryans: for their weapyns be light in like wyſe. But finally whan Sylla had paſſed fyue dayes of his tourney: ſodenly Volux the ſon of Bocchus ar- red and ſhewd hymſelfe to the romayns in the open feldes: with no mo but. M. men which went ſcattered and diſperſed abrode neglygētly: ſo that they ſemed to Sylla: and al other a greater nombre than they were in dede. Sylla and al his company feaſted them / thinkyng them ennemis: wherfore the romayns made them ready with armour and weapon: to defende themſelues / and to reſyſt their ennemis: if nedeth fulle ſo requyre. A lytel feare was amonge them: but their hope and confort ouerpaſſed their feare. For why they had the upper hande before: and conſydred that they ſhulde byker with them whome they had often ouerthowen and ouercome be- fore. In the meane tyme the horſemen whiche were ſent be- fore of both parties to ſepp þ trueli of the mater / certiſied eche

of them that al thyng was quyvet and sure ynough: as it was in dede: without treason or paryl. Volur in his metyng called Sylla by name: and welcomed hym benyngely: sayeng that he was sent from his father Bocchus to merre the sayd Sylla for his honour/socour / & defence. And so proceded they forthe warde al this day and the next day after in company togidre without feare or daunger. But after that it was nyght & their tentes pynched: sodenly the maurian Volur came rennyng to Sylla al pale & quakyng: and sayd that he was infourmed of the espyes that Jugurth was nat far thens. And with that prayed & exhortid hym to fle away w hym priuely by nyght. Sylla denyed that veterly as fierse and bolde of courage/ sayeng that he feared nat a cowarde numidyan: whiche so often had ben ouercome before. And that he trusted wel ynough to the strength & courage of his men: and finally he gaue Volur this answeare. If I knewe without dout that our sure destruction were instat: and that I and myne shuld be slayne in the felde/pet wold I nat fle for any dредe: but rather abyde and dye manfully: than cowardely to flee & shame my people of whome I haue charge in sparyng our lyues / whiche be so incertayne & unsure: and parauenture shorclly after this shal synishe with some sickenes or dysease. Is it nat better to dye in a noble quartel manly/ tha to lyve i shame cowardly. Whan Sylla had thus answered: than Volur couiselled hym to despart from that place & to remdue for ward by nyght. Thereto Sylla cōsented: and anone comaunded his loundours to refresche them in their tentes with such vitels as they had/and to make plenty of fiers ouer al the place to the intent that yf their ennemis were nere: in beholding the fiers they shulde thynke that they wolden nat remoue thens that nyght. But in the first houre of the night Sylla comaunded al his loundours to leaue their fiers brennyngē and so to depart forwarde in their iournay with scilence: so they dyd. And went al the night long: and eyn with the sonne tylinge they al beyng werped: Sylla pynched his tentes agayne. With that certayne horsmen of the mauriens brought word that Jugurth had taken place to his tentes: and rested about the distance of two myle before them. Whan these tidyngeys were harde among the comayns: a meruelous & great feare entred the myndes of them al. for they thought themself betrayed of Volur. And so ensuyrounde with falsehoode & treason. Many aduyded to take puñshement of Volur: sayeng that it was a thyng unworthy to suffre hym to escape unpunysshed for so great a myschefē and treason agaynst them commycted. But howbeit that Sylla was inwardly of the same oppynion: nevertheless he defended

nuntiant. Volux adueniens/quastorem appellant: dicitq; se a patre Boccho obuiam illi simul et praesidio milium. Deinde per illū et proximū diē sine metu conuncti eunt. Post vbi castra locata; et diei vesper erat: repete Matus incerto vultu pauēs/ ad Syllam accurrit: dicitq; sibi a speculatorib; cognitū haud procul Jugurtham abesse. Simul vti noctu clam secum profugeret/ rogarat atq; horat. Ille animo feroci negat se toties fusum numidam pertimescere: virtuti suorum sati credere: etiam si certa pestis adesset māsurum: potius q; pro ditis his quos ducebat turpi fuga/ incertæ/ ac forsitan post paulo iterituræ morte/ vita parceret. Ceteræ ab eodē monitus/ vti nos & u proscisceretur: consilium approbat: ac statim milites cœnatus esse i castris: ignesq; creberat: mos fieri: deinde pria vigilia silētio egredi iubet.

Iamq; nocturno itineris sessis omnibus/ Sylla patiter cum ortu solis castra metabatur: cū equites mauri nunciant/ Jusgurtham circiter duum milium interuallo ante eos consedisse. Quod postq; auditum est: tū vero ingens metus nostros inuadit: credere se proditos a Voluce/ et insidijs circumuentos. Ac suere qui diceret manu vindicandum neq; apud illum

## The batayle

tantum scelus inultū reslinquendum. At Sylla q̄q̄ eadem existimabat tñ ab iuria maurum prohibet. suos hortatur vti fortē animū gerent. Sēpe antea paucis strēnuis ad uersus multitudinem bene pugnatū. quanto si bi in prælio minus peper cillent: tāto tutiores for. neq; quēquam decere qui manus armauerit ab inermibus pedibus auxiliū petere. in maximo metu nudum et cecū corsū ad hostē vertere. Des inde Volucem ( qm̄ hostiā faceret ) louem maximū odtestatus: vt sceleris atq; p̄fidia Bocchi testis adeslet: castris abire iubet. Ille lacrimās orare/ ne ea crederet: nihil dolo factū: ac magis caliditate lugurtha/cui vi delicit speculatiū: iter suū cognitum esset.

Caterū quoniam neq; ingentem multitudinē haberet: & spes opesq; ex parte suo penderent: crederet illum nihil palam ausurum: cum ipse filius testis adeslet. Quare optimū factū videri: per media ei<sup>o</sup> castra palam trāsire: se sevī p̄missis vel ibidē relictis mauris/ solū cum Sylla iturū. Ea res vti i tali negocio solet/probara est: ac statī profecti: quia de improviso acciderat/dubio atque hesitante lugurtha/ incolumes transeunt.

Deinde paucis diebus quo i re intenderant/ perueniūt est.

the maurian from damage. And exhorted his men to be of strong & bolde myndes: sayeng that often before that tyme it had ben sene that a fewe worthy men had won victory of a moche multitude of cowards. And howe moch the lesse that they spared their bodyes in batayle fro fightyng: somoch the surer shuld they be: and that it seemed no man to whome god & nature had gyuen handes to defende his body: to sickē defencē in his fete bnatred by tennyng away. And that in suchē a teospardy/a noble soudour ought nat to tourne away his body from his ennemy / though he were naked and bnatred.

Whan Sylla had exhorted his men with suchē wordes: he called unto hym Wolur: and called in to wytnesse Jupyter and al his ydols to recordē the fallyng and treason of Bocchus father of Wolur: whitch had so betrayed hym. Than forasmoch as Sylla supposed that Wolur had brought hym by treason into handes of Jugurth by counsel & comaunderment of his father Bocchus he comaundered Wolur anone to depart from his company syght: Wolur pytuously wepyng: besought Sylla nat to bylue suchē thing in hym: & sayd that certenly by gyle nor by treason was nothyng done of him nor of his father: but rather by Jugurth whitch by his subtilte had espyed & serched their journay & wares by his espies & so knownen the same. But at conclusion said Wolur: syth it is so that Jugurth hath no great company & that his hope/ his trust & confort for þ moost part dependeth on my father: I thinke that he shal nat be so bolde to do any damage to you openly whyle I am in your company: whitch may recordē his dedi to my father. Wherfore Sylla to thentent that ye may parcepue that no treason is in me: I shal openly go with you alone by þ myddes of the tentes of Jugurth & so sauely conuey you: and other lēde my folke before: or els leaue th̄here with your company whþther of both shal please you best. This couſel was allowed of Sylla: & anone without tary he proceded forwarde with al his company thrōugh myddes of the tentes of Jugurth. And bycause this was sodenly done: Jugurth nat knowyng therof before/ he metuayled moch therat: & doubted long what was to bedone. But at last he suffred the comayns to passe & to escape sauſe and soude for loue of Wolur/ and dredē of Bocchus his father. And within a fewe dayes after: Wolur and Sylla with their company came to Bocchus: whether they intended.

¶ Of the metyng and secrete apoyntmentes by twene Bocchus and Sylla: and howe bytwene them both they abused Alper / the imbassadour of Ju-  
gurth. ¶ The. lxiiiij. chappyter,

At the



The same season was with Bocchus a certayne numidyan named Asper / sende before Bocchus frō Jugurth by craft and subtylte to espy his couſel / alſone as it was hard that Bocchus had ſende for Sylla. This numidyan was moch & familiarly couersat with Bocchus at that tyme. Moreouer there was an other named Dabar the ſon of Massas grade: whiche of his fathers ſyde was of the ſtocke of Massanilla. But of his mothers ſyde vnlkye of byrth: for his mother was borne of a concubine. This Dabar (as I haue ſayd) was at this ſeafon alſo in the company of Bocchus: and to hym dere and welbeloued for ſubtel wyt and great actes whiche he had done before: and namely bycause that Bocchus had founde & proued hym truſt & faythful many tymes before. Anone Bocchus ſende this Dabar to Sylla commaundyng Dabar to ſhewe hym þ he was redy to do euery thyng whiche þ comaincs to hym wolde comaunde or assigne. And that Sylla hymſelf ſhuld apoynþ & chose a tyme & place where they might comen togyder of their maters: and that he ſhulde nat ferre nor dout though the embassadour of Jugurth were there with hym. For he had reſerued all thyngs touching their couſel hole till comyng of Sylla: & of nothyng had apoynþed / comuned / nor concluded with the ſame imballadour of Jugurth. Whiche imballadour was called thyder to thyntent that their comen beſynesles might bedone moze at lybertie & with leſſe ſuſpection of Jugurth: for by other meaneſ they coude nat reſylt nor make puſtion agaynst his gyles. Such wordes ſende Bocchus to Sylla: by his truſt ſervant Dabar. But natwſtandynge al theſe fayre promiſes of Bocchus it was vnderſtande þ he plonged the romayns & the numidyans in hope of peace / rather for falſhode & treaſon after the credence of affrycans: than for profet to the romayns or trouth of ſuch thyngs as he promyſed to Sylla. And often tymes he caſt in his mynde & doubted whether he miſt betray Jugurth to þ romayns: or els Sylla to Jugurth: the pleaſure & deliȝe of his mynd aduised / moſted / & couſelled hym agaynst the romayns: but the dredē whiche he had of puniſhment in tyme to come: moued hym with þ romayns. But to our purpoſe: Sylla anſwered to Dabar the messenger of Bocchus that he wolde come thyder & firſte ſpeke a lytel of the peace & oſſuche other thynges in preſeſce of Asper the imballadour of Jugurth: but concerning the remenant of the deſynesse: he wolde dyſfer that to comen ſecretly wþ Bocchus / fewe or none called to couſel. And alſo he taught Dabar what wordes Bocchus ſhulde anſwere vnto hym Jugurth.

¶.ii.

Bi cum Boccho quida numida Asper nomine / multum et familiariter agebat: præmissus a Jugurtha postq Syllā accitum audierat / oratū / et subdole ſpeculatum Bocchi conſilia ierat. Præteſea. Dabar / Maſſagrade filius / ex gente Maſſinifſa / ceterum materno ge- nere impar (Nam mater eius ex concubina orta erat) Mauro ob ingentia facta charus acceptusq: quem Bocchus fidū mul- tis antea tempeſtatibus expertus / illico ad Sylelam nunciatū mittit: pa- ratū ſeſe facere / quaꝝ po- pulus romanus vellet. col- loquio: diem: locum: tem- pus: ipſe deligere & consul- to ſeſe omnia cura illo in- tegra habere. neu Jugur- thæ legatum pertimesces- ret: ꝑ eo aduocatus eſſet: quo res communis licen- tius gereretur: nam ab in- ſidijs eius aliter ſibi ca- uere nequiuiſſe.

Sed ego cōperio Bocchū magis punica fide: ꝑ ob ea quaꝝ prædicabat / ſimul romanos et numidam ſpa- pacis detinuisse / inultum: ꝑ cum ſuo animo volue- re ſolitū: Jugurham ro- manis / an illi Syllam tra- deret: libidinem aduersū nos: metū pronobis ſua- fille.

Igitur Sylla respōdit / ſo pauca coram aspare locu- turum: cætera occulere aut nullo præſente / aut ꝑ paucissimis: ſimul edo- cet: ꝑ ſibi responderent.

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Postque sicuti voluerat cōgredi: dicit se misū a cōsule venisse quæ situm ab eo/ pacem an bellum agis tatus foret. Tum rex (vti præceprum fuerat) post diem decimum redire iubet. At nihil etiam decreuisse: sed illo die re sponsurum.

Deinde ambo ad castra sua degressi.

agayne whan they shulde come to cōmunication: and so departed Dabar. But whan Sylla sawe his tyme he went to Bocchus: and sayd that he was sent from Marius the consul to enquire if he wold leuer peace or war: and wheron he wold conclude. Than Bocchus (as Dabar had warned hym before) comaued Sylla to retorne agayne after. x. dayes: and thā shulde an answere be gauen vnto hym. For at that tyme no thyng was concluded. That answere wel noted & harde Asper the embassadour of Jugurth whiche was sent to espy the intreatment: and so thought he that no thyng shulde be treated nor concluded without his knowlege. And thus after this ans were Bocchus and Sylla departed: eche to their tentes.

¶ Of the seconde cōmyng togyder of Bocchus and of Sylla: and of the wordes of Bocchus had to Sylla: and replycation and answere of Sylla agayne to hym. And how Bocchus graunted & concluded to betray Jugurth to the romayns.

C The.lxv.chapyter.

**S**ed ubi plerumque nos &is processit. Sylla a Bocco occulte accep sis: ab utroque tantummodo fidi interpres adhibens. Prætereat Dabar internūcius: sicut us viri iurat ex sententia ambobus: actas tim sic rex incipit.

Nunque ego ratus sum forti rex maximus i hac terra et omniū, quos noui, opulentissimus priuato homini gratiam debes: reiset me hercile Sylla: ante te cognitum multis oratibus/ alijs vltro/ ego met operi tuli: nullius i digui.

Id esse imminutum quod cæteri dolere solent/ ego letor: fuerit mihi eguisse aliquando præcium tuæ amicitiae: qua apud ani-



¶ Ut after that moche of the night was ouerpasse: Bocchus priuely sende for Sylla none beyng in their company/ saue such as on both parties myght truely interprete and declare the sentence and understanding of their word. And also Dabar the sayd messenger was present whiche the solemnly swore and promised to be faythful interpretour of both their sayenges / and sentences. Than Bocchus anone began his wordes in this sentence.

¶ I haue thought forsooth: that it shulde never haue fortuned that I the greatest kynge of al them in these landes: and rycheſt of al them that I knowe: shuld haue ben bounde a mean & priuate person. And forsooth Sylla or euer I hadd of you: I haue gauen helpe & socours to many other men. To some of myne owne voluntary and frewyl. And to some other: required of them: my ſelfe nat nedyng helpe of any man. But now syth I haue knownen you: I haue nedē of your helpe and frendshyp of which I am glad: nat withſtandynge other men ar wont to be ſoroy of ſuch fortune. And certenly this nedē whiche I haue of your frendshyp is nat of me counted damage nor losse: but moche profit and pleasure. For inwardly in my myndes no thyng is better/nor more acceptable: whiche ye may

conueniently prove if it please you: demand: & take of me armes, men, treasure: and finally what euer it please you in your mynde: and use & occupy the same as your owne. And thynke þe for certayne that whyle þe lyue & I togþder: I can neuer render wþþy thankes unto your kyndnes: nor condigneip recompence your great humanite: but euer my good wyl & mynde shalbe hole and newe agaynst you. And certenly if I may knowe your mynde & wyl: ye hal nought nedē to be syre of me: I shal p̄suēd your requestes with my benefytes: so that ye shal coueþt noþyng in bayne. Verely as I thynke it is leſſe rþþrouable and leſſe dyshonour a kyng to be ouercōd with armes: than with liberalite. Wherefore I haue conclus̄ed in mynde that a man shal rather ouercome me in batayle with weapon & force of armes: than with liberalite.

**C**But touchyng your commen wylle (for whose besynes ye besende þyþer as procuratour of the same) this is my sentencē and mynde in fewe wordes. Agaynst the romayns / nor agaynst their empire: I neuer moued nor made war: nor to make batayle agaynst them: it was never i my mynde by my wyl. But the boundys of my marchesse haus I endeououred me to defende agaynst the violence of your armed men. But this I leauē & set a syde: syth I se that it pleaseth you to do the same to execute & continue ye batayle with Jugurth as ye wyl. And as touchyng me: I shal nat ouerpasse the water of Mus, lucha / whiche was boundes bytrene my marches and M̄c̄ipla whyle he lyued. Nor into my countrey I shal nat suffice Jugurth from hens forþe: to entre for socours / as he hath done in tymes passed. Fartermore if ye desyde any thyng of me conueniently: whiche I may wþþely graunt / my copalte nat distayned: it shal nat be denȝed unto you. Thus conclus̄ed Bocchus his wordes.

**C**Unto these wordes Sylla answered for his owne part but moderately and with fewe wordes. But touchyng the peace and besynesse concerning the commen wylle: he spake many wordes / wherof the conclusion was suchē.

**C**Kynge Bocchus I t̄slurs and promesse you: that the romayns shal nat be vñkynde to you if ye do some pleasure to them: which may rather long to the al bolly in comen: than in me alone. And thynke ye for certayne: that they whiche haue overcome you in batayle: shal lykewyse overcome you wþ libe talte / kyndnesse / and good dedes: if ye so contende with them: which thyng is nowe redy in your power to do: consydering that I haue Jugurth redy at your wyl and pleasure. Therfore among al benefites or pleasures: ye can do none more acceptable unto the romayns: than to delþuer unto them Ius Jugurth.

P.ii.

num meum nihil chartū  
habeo: id adeo experitū  
cer arma: virūs: pecunia  
postremo quicquid aio li  
bet sume: utere: et quo  
ad viues nunq̄ tibi reddi  
tam gratiam putaueris;  
sed semper apud me inten  
gra erit. Deniq̄ nihil  
me sciente frusta voles.  
Nam vt ego existimor ea  
gem armis q̄ munificen  
tia vinci minus flagition  
sum.

**C**Carte de republica ves  
tra cui curator hoc mis  
sus es paucis accipe. Belis  
lum ego populo romano  
negi feci: negi factura vna  
q̄ volui. times meos ad  
uersum armatos tutatus  
sum. Id omittio quoniam  
ita vobis placet. Gerite  
vti vultis cum Jugurtha  
bellum. ego flumen Mus  
lucham quod inter me et  
M̄c̄ipsam iuit non egrediar. Deniq̄ id Jugurthā  
intrare sinam. Praterea  
si quid me vobisq̄ dignū  
petueris haud repulsa  
abibis.

**A**de a Sylla pro se brevis  
ter et modice: de pace de  
q̄ cōmunitib⁹ rebus mula  
tis disseruit.

Denique regi patet fecit t̄  
quod pollicetur senatus  
et populus romanum: quo  
nam armis amplius va  
luissent non in gratiam  
habiturum: sciendū an  
liquid quod illorum mas  
gis q̄ sua retulisse vide  
tur: id adeo in promptū  
esse quoniam Jugurthā  
copiam haberet: quem si

## The batayle

romanis tradidisset fore  
vt illi plurimum de beret  
amicitiam: sed us: Numis-  
dix partem quam nunc  
peteret: tunc vltro aduen-  
turam.

Rex primo negare agita-  
re cognitionem affinita-  
tem præterea sedus iter  
uenisse. Ad hoc metuere  
ne fluxa fide vsus popu-  
lariū animos auerteret.  
quis et Jugurtha charus  
et romani inuisi erant.  
Deniq; iepius fatigatus  
leuit et ex voluntate  
Syliae omnia se facturum  
promittit,  
Cæterum ad simulandum  
pacem cuius numida des-  
tessus bello auditisimis-  
erat: quæ utilia visa sunt  
constituant. Ita compo-  
sito dolo degrediantur.

gurth. By this meanes shal they be moche beholden to you:  
and thynke ye stedfastly: it shal nat be vntewarded on our be-  
halfe. For than shal the Senate graunt vnto you ampte and  
peace: and also a part of numidy whiche ye do nowe clayme:  
shul than be graunted vnto you vntreighted. 

**B**occhus heryng these wordes of Sylla: first excused him  
selfe by the affynite whiche was bytwene hym and Jugurth:  
and by the longe familpartie & aquaintance whiche they had  
togyder: sayeng also that a bonde of peace was confyderate  
and swozne bytwene them. And also that he fered & suspected  
that if he so dyd: his owne subgett shulde hate hym therfore  
whiche moche loued Jugurth: & greatly hated the romayns.  
But nat withstandyng these wordes of Bocchus: Sylla des-  
sisted nat to attye and counsel hym: tyl at last he agreed and  
consented to his desyre promysing to do every thyng as Sylla  
requyzed hym. But to thyntent to fayne a treaty of peace  
(of whiche Jugurth weryed in warre was moche desyrous)  
they ordayred suche craft: as to their purpose seemed most ex-  
pedient. But whan they had pmaigned and desyred al thyngs  
after theyr myndes: than both they departed in sonder:  
and retourned agayne to their rest. 

**C**ho we Bocchus betrayed Jugurth and dely-  
uered hym bounde to Sylla. **C**he. lxvi. chap.

**A**T rex postero die  
Asperè Jugurthas  
legatū appellat di-  
cti⁹ sibi y Dabare ex Syl-  
la cognitū posse cōditio-  
nibus bellū sui sententiā  
exquireret. Ille lēt⁹ in ca-  
stra Jugurthas pacificis.  
Deinde cū&a ab illo edos-  
sus properato itinere  
post diem octauum redit  
ad Bocchum et ei nuncis  
at Jugurthā cupere omnia  
quæ imperatetur fa-  
cere sed Mario parū con-  
fidere. Sæpe antea cū impe-  
ratoribus romanis pa-  
cem cōuentam frustra fu-  
isse. Cates Bocchus si am-  
bos consultū et ratam  
pacem vellet: daret ope-  
rā y una quasi de pace in-

**O**n the morowe after Bocchus called  
to hym Asper the imballadour of Jugurth and  
sayd to hym that he vnderstode of Sylla by the  
interpretacion of Dabat that the way might be  
mysshed vpon certayne cōditions. Wherfore he  
bad hym go & inquire the mynde & pleasure of his kyng in y  
behalfe. Asper of these tydynge was glad & toke hys leave of  
Bocchus: and departed to the tentes of Jugurth: & certysfed  
hym of the same. Jugurth shewed to Asper: al his mynd and  
pleasure cōcerning the premisses. And within. viii. dayes ass-  
ende hym agayne to Bocchus. Whan Asper was retourned  
agayne to Bocchus: he shewed to him y wyl of Jugurth say-  
eng that he coueted to do althyng whiche shuld be comaued  
to hym of Bocchus: but he had but smal cōfydece in Marius.  
For as moche as the peace whiche often before had ben conue-  
ted & apointed of the romayne captayns had anone after ben  
frustrate: & broken of the agayne. But if ye wyll ( sayd Asper  
to Bocchus ) that peace shalbe confermed of the romayns w  
Jugurth & you also: Jugurth desyreteth & requireth you to la-  
bour so: that Sylla / Jugurth / & ye: may come togyder to cō-

munication: as if it were to treat of peace & that ye wyl there betraye and deluyer Sylla to hym. For if ye may ones bring such a man into power & handes of Jugurth: anone after it shall fortune without doute that peace shalbe made and graunted to him by cōmen assent of the senatours: & cōmens of Rome also. And that: to thyntē to recouer Sylla agayne out of the hādes of Jugurth. For without dout romayns wyl nat suffice so noble a man to be left in handes & danger of their enemis. And namely: whan they shal vnderstante hym take nat by his owne folly no: cowardyse: but in besynesse belonysinge to the commen wayle.

**C**esarus heryng these wordes: reuolued & cast lōg in minde what he might answeare to thē: but at last he graunted thereto. But whether he doubted so long before he graunted for subtelite or veryt trouth / it is harder to discerne. But this is playnly knowne þ for the moost part in likewyse as the wylles & myndes of kyngs be behemēt immoderat & hasty: right so be they mouyng/bustedfast & variable: and often aduers & contrary to their owne selfe: and with theselſe repugnat. But to our maſter: Bocchus assigned to Asper a place & tyme: where Sylla and they shuld cōmen togidre of the peace. And in the meane whyle somtyme he cōmuned secretly with Sylla: somtyme w Asper embassador of Jugurth/creatyng them both mekeley and courtesly: and pmislyng one self thynge unto them both. Wherfore they both wer glab: and also eche of them both had good hope in the promyses of Bocchus.

**C**But the nigh before that day: whiche was assigned to treatment of the peace: Bocchus called vnto hym diuerse of his frendes/ as if he wold haue taken couſel of them: and than immediatly he chaūged that mynde/ cōmaundyng them agayne to auoyde from hym. And so (none of his couſel about hym) he stode al alone reuoluyng & tourning i mynde many thyngs by hymſelfe/ chaūgynge oftentimes in contenaunce/ and colour variable & diuerſe: apertyng forthward by tokenes of feare cōceyued in his mynde & expreſſed by ourwarde tokenes of his body. In ſo moche: that al þ he expreſſed nat his mynde by wordes: neuertheles this often changing of contenaunce/ deſcribed the ſecretes of his hert. But at conclusion: after long couſel had within hymſelfe: at laſt he cōmaunded Sylla to be called vnto hym. And than aft his aduice & couſel he deuiled & prepared althyngs cōcernyng the probation of Jugurth.

**C**After this couſel concluded: alone as the day light aperewt tidynge were brought to Bocchus: that Jugurth was nat ſat thens: and commynge towarde hym. Bocchus this herteynge: anone prepared hymſelfe and proceſed forth agaynſt Jugurth.

colloquium connenireſ: ibiq Syllā ſibi traderet cum talem virum in poteſte habuileſ ſum fore uti iuſſu ſenatus ac populi romani ſord fieret neq hominē nobilem nō ſua ignauia captum: ſed ob temp. in hostium poteſte relictum irit.

Hac Maurus ſecum ipſe diu voluens tandem proſuilit. Ceterum dolo an in te cunctatus parū cōperimus ſed plerūq; regiae voluntates ut veheſmentes ſic mobiles: ſepe ipiæ libi aduerſe.

Postea rāpoie et loco conſtitutus in colloquium vti de pace cōuenirent Bocchus Syllam modorūmo do Jugurthæ legatum appellare: benigne habere: idem ambobus polliceri: illi leti pariter ac ſpeſ boñ eſie pleni: ſed nocte ea quæ proxia tuit ante diem colloquio decretum maurus adhibet: amicis ac ſtatim immutata volūtate remotis a ſe ceteris dicitur ſecum multa aguauifiet: vultu/colore / ac motu corporis pariter atq; animo varius quæ ſciliſſet ipſo tacente occulta pectoris oris immutatio ne patetfecit.

Tamen poſtemo Syllam accerſiri iubet: et ex eius ſentencia numidae insidi as tendit. Deinde vbi dies aduenit et ei nunciatum Jugurtham haud longe eſſe cū paucis amicis et quarto-

## The batayle

te nostro quasi obui' honori' causa procedit i' ru  
mulum facillimum v'su insidiantibus eodem nu-  
emida cum plerisq; neces-  
sarijs suis inertia vti  
dictum erat accedit ; ac  
statim signo dato vndiq;  
simul ex sidijs inuadis,

Ceteri obseruati Jugur-  
tha vindictus Syllae tradis-  
tur: et ab eo ad Marium  
deductus est.

hym accompanied with a rew of his frendes/ and also with  
**Sylla**: sayninge that he went so forth to mete with Jugurth  
and to receyue hym/because of honour. And thus they proces-  
sed forwarde : tyl at last they came to an oppn heyth / where  
they myght easly se the commynge of Jugurth: whiche place  
was apoynted before to their treason. For in dryuerse valeys  
of the same heyth : were arm'd men lyenge in wayt ready and  
apoynted before by Bocchus: for to assayle Jugurth and his  
ccompany / whan signes shuld be gyuen to them: to yssue forth  
of their luckyng places. Anone Jugurth with many of his  
men about hym came to hys same place al vnarmed: as apoynte-  
ment was made before . For it was ordayned that Bocchus/  
Jugurth/ and **Sylla**: shulde come togyder to comunicacion:  
eche one with a smal company / and al vnarmed . . .  
Anon as Jugurth was come thyder: kyng Bocchus gaue  
a token to his men / which lay in wayt for Jugurth. Anone as  
they harde the token: sodaynly they bracke forth and inuaded  
Jugurth and his cōvany : compasyng them about on every  
syde. Without great labour: al the company of Jugurth were  
murdred: and he hymselfe taken and bounde hande and fote  
and so deluyerd vnto **Sylla**: whiche without tary led hym  
forth and deluyerd hym vnto Marius : whose herte was re-  
plenysched and inuironed / with loye inestimable. , ,

Chow Marius was receyued into Rome with  
triumphe: and howe Jugurth was cast into  
prison: where he contynued in myse-  
table captiuite tyl he dyed .

C The . lxvii . cha .



Aftir that Jugurth thus bounde  
was deluyerd by Bocchus vnto **Sylla**:  
and than to Marius. Anone al the numis-  
dyans/submytted and yelded themselfe to  
the romayns. Marius with great wyses  
dome set an order among the people / and  
garnysshed and fortifyed the townes: and  
than with the remenant of his army toke his tourney agayne  
to Rome: leadyng Jugurth and his twolonne bounde with  
hym: with innumerable other prisoners/great treasour/ oly-  
phantes/ and armoure: whiche he had won in the war of Ju-  
gurth. But after that tidynges were brought to Rome: howe  
the war was ended in Numidy : and howe Jugurth was

Ied thyderwarde bounde and prisoner. Inone the Senate  
and commens assembled to counseil: and Marius was create  
consul agayne for the next yere: in his absence. And by decrete  
and ordynance: the prouince of Fraunce was commynged  
vnto hym to be reuoced.

**C**for the same tyme whyle Marius warred in Numidie:  
and toke Jugurth prisone. That countrey of France (whose  
people that tyme were named Cymbrians) rebelled agaynst  
the empyze of Rome. Agaynst whome the romayns sende  
forth to represse their rebellion: a great armee with two ca-  
pitayns: the one named Quintus Seipto/ the other Mat-  
tus Manlyus: whiche at last with frowarde fortune had a  
great and greuous batayle with the same frenchmen Cym-  
brians. In which both these romayne capitayns were ouer-  
come: and twylle lost the felde. Of the romayne men of war:  
were slayne. lxx. thousande: of tylmen/ and pages. xl. thou-  
sand. Thus was this batayle foughten with soyl fortune  
vnto the romayns: that the cite of Rome / and al the countrey  
of Italy trembled for feare therof. In somoche that both the  
romains whiche lyued at that tyme: and al their progeny whis-  
che succeeded them: counted al other nacions redy to their obe-  
sance: and to wyn honour by them: but they thought never to  
contende in batayle with this nacion of frenchmen: to wynne  
glorie or honour by them: but rather to defende themselves and  
their libertie: whiche thynge if they myght do / they counted  
themselves fortunate. Wherfore (as I haue before recounted)  
the Senate: and commens of Rome/ decreed this prouince  
of France to Marius for to reuenge the deth of their men:  
and to reuoyt the countrey . . .

**C**But (to our purpose) whan Marius shulde intre into Ro-  
me he was joyfully receyued with great glorie and triumphe:  
wheroft the order was suche. Marius hymselfe was set on  
hys in a golden chayre: whiche was drawen of foure whyte  
palfreyes. Jugurth and his two sonnes / with many other  
noble men: whome he brought captyue from Numidie/prouic-  
ed before his chariot: their handes and armes bounde as pri-  
soners. Fethermore for more ample ostentacion of his glorie/  
and to declare howe moche he had iuryched the comen wayle  
of Rome: al the elyphantes/armour/lewels/treasur/and ry-  
chesse whiche he had won in Numidie of Jugurth: were led  
and borne before hym. Than al the senatours: al the officers  
and noble men of Rome: with an unnumerable multitude of  
commens receyued hym with al honoure and love: and con-  
veyed hym vnto the prin. ipal palayes of Rome / named the  
Capitol: where he made sacrifice with a bul vnto Jupiter:

**C**Per idem tempus aduersum Gallos ab ducibus nostris Quito Scipione et Caio Manlio male pugnatum est.

Quo metu Italia omnis  
contremuerat.  
Illiq; et denique omnes  
romani vsq; ad nostram  
memoriam sic habuerunt  
alia omnia virtuti sua  
prona esse: cum Gallis pro  
salute non pro gloria cec-  
tare.

Sed postq; bellum in Nu-  
midia cōfectum et lugur-  
tham Romanam vincitū ad  
duci nuntiatum est. Ma-  
rius consul absens factus  
est et ei decreta prouicia  
gallia.

## The batayle.

I sq; kalēdis Januarij magna gloria consul triumphavit.

Ex ea tempestate spes atque opes ciuitatis in illo sita. Telos.

for his victomy: after the custome of that tyme. His sacrifice ended: then was he conveyed into the Senate house / in his robe triumphal: as neuest consul was brought before his tyme, Marcius was receaved at Rome with suche triomph at the halendes of January. From thensforth al the hope of confort / wealth / soco's / & welthe of the cite of Rome rested in Marcius. Jugurth was casten into prison: where he ended his wretched lyfe in mysterable captiuite / and many folde calamities / as to such a murtherer unnaturall: and tyran inhumayne was conuenyent.

## F I N I S.

Thus endeth the famous cronycle of the war whiche the romayns had agaynst Jugurth  
vicer of the kyngdomme of Numidie:  
which cronycle is copied in latyn  
by the remouened romayn Ma-  
rull. And translated into  
englyssh by Ale-  
xander Barclay  
preest: at com-  
maundes  
ment of the right hye and mighty prince / Thom-  
mas duke of Northfolke. And imprent-  
ed at London by Richarde Pynson  
printer unto the kynges noble gra-  
ce: with privilege vnto hym  
graunted by our sayd so-  
uerayne lordis the  
kyng.

